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ABSTRACT

This book, a revision and updating of a work first published under the same title in 1974, presents a detailed chronological history of African Americans in the United States. The description begins with the origins of Homo sapiens in Africa, and traces the African American story from slavery in North America through the U.S. Civil War, the Depression, and the protest era of the 1960s to the opening of the 1990s decade. A bibliography of nearly 750 resources divides relevant works into such topics as general history, the Post-Reconstruction era, and works focused on legal and cultural subjects. Included in the book are notes about the author, a foreword, and the prefaces to the first, second, and third editions. Black and white photographs portraying leading figures and events in African American history also are included. (LBG)

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BLACK CHRONICLE

by Clarence S. Kailin

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An American History Textbook Supplement

by
Clarence S. Kailin

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About the Author

Born in Madison, Wisconsin, in 1914, Clarence Kailin began studying Black history as the result of his early interest in the Civil Rights Movement during the 1930s. He started teaching Black history in the early 1960s, holding classes in his home and, later, presenting the first public Black history course in Madison at the YWCA. Mr. Kailin has given various series of courses in Madison for Edgewood College, the Free University, West High School Interim Sessions, PTA groups, churches, and neighborhood centers. Through the University of Wisconsin-Extension he worked with the Center for Community Leadership Development, teaching classes in numerous Wisconsin cities. In 1967, his dissatisfaction with the portrayal of Blacks in high school history texts led him to organize the "Committee to Teach Black History in Madison Schools," a project that culminated in the writing of *Black Chronicle*.

Foreword

Clarence Kailin's Black Chronicle is a unique work. While there are, of course, single volume texts devoted to the African-American experience—that authored by John Hope Franklin being an outstanding example—there is no brief summary of that dramatic and vital history.

Mr. Kailin's work fills that need; its value is enhanced by a very helpful bibliography.

Not least among the virtues of *Black Chronicle* is the clear partisanship. Mr. Kailin views racist ideas and practices as atrocious features of American life. He knows and shows that many people of all colors and nationalities—of course led by African-Americans themselves—have waged a long and heroic struggle against this poison. That effort, as this work demonstrates, has not been without its successes, notably the abolition of slavery and the termination of legalized discrimination.

Setbacks in this struggle occurred in the past, such as the aborting of Reconstruction after the Civil War and the vitiating of the great promises and achievements flowing out of the Civil Rights Movement of the 1960s. But human history, while filled with tragedy and cruelty, is also characterized by triumphs and courage.

It may be believed that the forward drive organic to the human experience will move ahead in the last decade of the twentieth century and in the decades to follow. One day, surely, the dream of the prophets from Douglass to Du Bois to King—of an egalitarian, prosperous, and peaceful United States—will come into being.

In this momentous effort, Mr. Kailin's book has played its modest role; now, in improved and expanded form, it can continue to do so.

Dr. Herbert Aptheker
University of California, Berkley
January 31, 1990

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Author's Preface to the First Edition

A study of many American history texts used in Wisconsin school districts reveals some major failings. One of the most serious shortcomings of textbooks consists of the omission or distortion of the Black experience as well as inaccuracies in the portrayal of Black people.

Much of our history has been written to satisfy the needs and desires of a segregated, white-oriented society. Until recently, many American history texts ignored the very existence of Black people except as delightfully happy and contented slaves—passive, docile, and imitative: a concept based on the racist myth that Africans and their descendants are biologically inferior.

The term "race" is part of the myth of Black inferiority. About the time of the American Revolution, the Swedish botanist, Linnaeus, and others used "race" as a convenient term to describe physical differences in people. Subdividing people in this manner suited the slaveholder's ideology. The slaveholders not only created the concept of biologically different races, but they attempted to prove the superiority of the white race. This kind of "race," says anthropologist Ashley Montagu, defines conditions that do not in fact exist.

The racist speaks of color prejudice as something inborn, an instinctive part of human nature. This concept has been used both as a rationale for belief in white supremacy and as an excuse to dominate Black people. The same people who had been forced into slavery were then characterized by the racist as being instinctively submissive.

A more recent racist concept speaks of socially induced inferiority in which Black people have been so unable to resist the destructive effects of ghetto life that they have become permanently crippled and can no longer function as useful citizens. Some people have even alleged that Black people have a basic personality weakness which is supposed to have made them the world's most natural slaves. Emancipation was said to be unnatural for Black people, leading to frustration, rage, insanity, and suicide.

African-Americans have been considered as no more than wards of white folks who claimed that the Negro people had no history of their own and, therefore, no culture. Gunnar Myrdal described Black culture as a "distorted development, or a pathologic condition" of American culture in general, while Glazer and Moynihan maintained that the Negro "has no values and culture to guard and protect."

The turn of this century saw many prominent writers on Reconstruction. One of these historians, James Ford Rhodes, referred to the freedmen as "one of the most inferior races of mankind . . . a race of children." Columbia scholar John W. Burgess stated, "A black skin means membership in a race of men which has never of itself succeeded in subjecting passion to reason, has never, therefore, created any civilization of any kind." Another Columbia historian, William A. Dunning, said, "The Negro had no pride of race and no aspirations save to be like the whites."

These are but a few of the writers and a few of the myths that until the late 1960s made up white American historiography. This racist outlook makes it impossible to gain an undistorted view of American life and history.

Black people, however, have always been aware of the myth of white supremacy, and Black historians in particular have seen the need for a truthful history. Men like Carter G.

Woodson, Charles Wesley, W.E.B. Du Bois and scores of other historians—Black and white—have dedicated their lives to this work.

In spite of historians' efforts, it was not until the late 1960s that Black militant forces, both in the ghettoes and in the universities, forced open the doors of learning and compelled whites to recognize the illegitimacy of white, racist, historical concepts. Out of these struggles came demands for Black Studies departments and for integrated texts.

As Black studies became popular, a large mass of hastily published, poorly edited, so-called integrated books came on the market. The inclusion of Black history usually meant mere name-dropping, and the old stereotypes remained. A few books attempted a neutral position, showing both sides of the story, but neutralism in history is nothing more than a promotion of the status quo, and that is racism.

In the interest of excellence in education, it is the duty of the historian to overcome racist trends in textbooks. Central to this study is the origin of racism as a product, not only of chattel slavery, but of the peonage-segregation system beginning after the reconstruction period. The Supreme Court's shameful decision of 1896, *Plessy* v. *Ferguson*, in denying the injustice of Jim Crow, gave in to the demands of racism and allowed the law to impose social behavior. The growing violence and racism of succeeding years still afflict us and constitute one of the major problems of our time. This is the white problem we must deal with, not simply as an individual matter to be solved by being a "good person," but by viewing racism as an American institution.

The injustices of racism have not, of course, been confined to Black people in America. Other minorities, particularly the Native American, have also fared badly in their relationship to white America and in the way they have been depicted in books and other information media.

The work of Christian missionaries in this country has included covert and insidious attempts to take possession of the Indian soul and carve out little empires among the "fearsome heathens." During the nineteenth century, the "manifest destiny" movement culminated in the armed invasion and defeat of numerous tribes. Invasion became a veritable policy of genocide with survivors being forced onto reservations. Invasions of Indian land were followed by the combined intrusion of federal agencies, industrialists, researchers, anthropologists, do-gooders, and tourists.

Women, too, have been relegated to an inferior position in American life and history writing. The role of women in American society, especially Black women, has been one of second-class citizenship. Except in a token way, women do not exist as corporation heads, army generals, executives, politicians, bankers, book publishers, or leaders in other traditional areas of power and influence.

The oppression of women began in the distant past, yet anthropological studies show that in an early stage of human history, men and women lived in a condition of complete equality with families and society structured along matriarchal lines. It was when men acquired the tools of production that they also acquired the power of economic and political control, together with the ideology of male supremacy. Similarly, it was the economic power white men gained through the slave system that gave them political and legal control and the ideology of white supremacy.

Much of our history writing has been oriented around the concept of the "great white man." Thus, our history writing has often become not only elitist and racist, but male chauvinistic. A history that ignores or distorts the lives of a majority of the people cannot be either truthful or democratic. The following chronicle should be considered only as a guide. A more complete study should be made, and for this purpose a bibliography that lists books by category and historical period has been included.

Clarence Kailin

Author's Preface to the Second Edition

Although many changes have taken place since this publication was conceived, the fundamental ideas which inspired the original pamphlet remain.

Major demographic changes, the result of mechanization and industrialization, have forced Black people out of rural areas, a great many to be transplanted into the big city ghettos.

Although legal restraints against Black people have been removed, the institutionalized patterns of hundreds of years of segregation and racism remain. Political representation, equal opportunity in housing, education, and health care are yet to be realized. But the key problem is economic: unemployment, underemployment, and a widening income gap, while the corporate power of Black businesses is minuscule. Without a solution to these problems, segregation and racism will continue, and human rights will remain an elusive dream.

Ghetto schools (surrounded by richer, white suburbs) have suffered under financial handicaps, and this in turn has had a detrimental effect on educational standards. Black students in predominantly white schools frequently find themselves isolated. They find textbooks and teaching methods often not relevant to their lives. Too many teachers still think of them as uneducable and thus take a negative attitude toward teaching Black students—a major factor in the higher-than-normal dropout rate.

The 1970s saw a renewal of "scientific" racism by Dr. Arthur Jenson and others, whose works claimed that "genetic factors are strongly implicated" in IQ differences between Black and white people. Jensen warned of the dangers of "dysgenic trends"—a rehashing of old "race" theories now known to be without foundation, but which constituted justification for so many segregationist practices that still continue, even though the forms may have changed.

In many parts of the country there has been a cutting back and in some cases a closing of Human Relations as well as African-American Studies departments. Affirmative Action programs, designed to end the traditional inequality in hiring practices, are being challenged under the guise of "reverse discrimination."

The struggle of African-American people—an inspiring history—continues. It has a very special and unique character which has affected in a decisive way all aspects of our lives. It has always been a force for positive and democratic change. If we ignore or falsify this history, we only help to sustain racism. Thus the struggle to achieve excellence in education goes hand-in-hand with the fight against all forms of institutionalized racism.

Clarence Kailin

Author's Preface to the Third Edition

In looking back at the earlier civil rights struggles, especially those that originated in the mid-1960s, we witnessed both a broad social movement and an aroused national consciousness which had an uplifting and democratizing effect on the entire nation.

The Montgomery, Alabama, bus boycott, led by the Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., and numerous civil rights and religious organizations, forced the city of Montgomery to accept, for the first time, unsegregated public transportation. As a result, succeeding generations of bus riders—both Black and white—accepted as normal this form of equality of treatment in a city that was once a major stronghold of segregation. Appeals to conscience, morality, reason, and decency have never by themselves transformed race relations as did that mass, nonviolent movement. And, as the Civil Rights Movement grew, so did the traditional stereotype of African-Americans begin to disappear.

The struggle continued, virtually nationwide, resulting in major advances in voting rights and in the election of many Black officials. Yet, today, the most formidable problem remains for all people of color: economic parity.

With the 1980s and the election of Ronald Reagan to the presidency, we saw a dramatic escalation of the military budget and, at the same time, massive cuts in vital social programs. The result was a vast transfer of resources from the poor to the more affluent, exacerbating the existing inequality, causing the Black-white income gap to grow even larger and creating the most unequal society in history. In that period both Black and white poor increased by some eight million over the previous decade. Two million of these new poor are Black, while nearly half of all Black children live in poverty.

With the national decline in spendable income for African-Americans, there has been a corresponding decrease in life expectancy and an increase in infant mortality comparable to that in the underdeveloped "Third World" countries. The catastrophic economic dislocation of many urban communities is typically the prime cause of disease, intolerable housing and homelessness, drugs and violence, and an educational system that continues to suffer from financial handicaps. Television, radio broadcasting, and newspapers, heavily dominated by whites in policy-making positions, continue to depict these problems not as sociological but as racial phenomena.

The education of Black Americans has been negatively affected during the Reagan years. The executive branch of the government not only gave no leadership in promoting equal opportunity programs, but made active assaults on education funding. In addition, between 1976 and 1986 college tuition nearly doubled, making education more prohibitive for African-Americans since there is a disproportionately high percentage of Black low-income families.

Official attitudes and actions toward African-Americans have been seen as giving encouragement to innumerable white-supremacy hate groups who found in this environment of crisis fertile soil in which to grow and to commit their acts of violence and terror against people of color. In addition, some so-called "good people" whose racism lay latent, only skin-deep, were emboldened to commit racist acts or to stand silently by in the face of such actions. They have been encouraged, too, by the racism in state houses and university structures where liberal platitudes are little more than a smokescreen to perpetuate the status quo. The

Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., never let himself be "put off" with false oratory or uncommitted lip-service in the struggle against racism:

> There is a need for strong leadership from white northern liberals. What we are witnessing today in so many northern communities is a sort of quasi-liberalism which is based on the principle of looking sympathetically at all sides. It is a liberalism that is so objectively analytical that it is not subjectively committed. (Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., in *A Testament of Hope)*

Black students on predominantly white campuses are finding themselves faced with an unusual amount of harassment—ugly name-calling, physical abuse, and insulting graffiti. Because racist symbols and words have historically come to imply Black inferiority, such expressions, because of the negative images they bring forth, can never be seen as jokes or harmless pranks. Lynchings and other forms of terror against African-Americans were always preceded and accompanied by racist verbal assaults. This white supremacy propaganda was used to justify violence against an entire people who were depicted not only as inferior but as less than human. Historically, racism has never been nonviolent. Whether such dehumanization comes from the Ku Klux Klan, or from the more "acceptable" and "polite" sections of society, these varied groups can only serve to complement each other and thus reinforce white supremacy.

We look to our educational system as a bastion of knowledge, as a source of direction and guidance for our children. Yet, over the years our textbooks, and too frequently our teaching methods, have failed to keep up with the rapid technological advances that are changing our lives, changing everything, "except," as Einstein said, "our way of thinking."

School texts are part of a billion-dollar industry controlled by multinational corporations producing books in their own image and catering to old established social outlooks that never were compatible with the demands of the twenty-first century.

They continue to promote racism, sexism, and militarism, problems that are directly related to world hunger, crime, drugs, human health, and welfare.

Textbooks and the educational system have the added burden of counteracting the daily fare of sexual exploitation and violence fed our children through the medium of television.

While many thought that the problems of the 1960s and 1970s were "solved," we are now witnessing a resurgence of old difficulties and seeing many new ones.

We cannot achieve excellence in education until we see that we are all victims of the inertia of past tradition and that we must confront those individual and institutional forces that are in conflict with human progress.

The future of white America is intimately linked with the fate of Black America.

"The problem of the twentieth century is the problem of the color line." —W.E.B. Du Bois.

In a number of places in the text is the racist epithet n——r. I spelled it in this manner regardless of how it appeared in the original. It is hoped that the reader will understand that this particular racist term is insulting, demeaning, and degrading and under no circumstances should it (or other racist epithets) be used. To spell out that word is to legitimize it—to make it acceptable.

Clarence Kailin

Early Times

50,000 B.C.E.	The appearance of *Homo sapiens* in Africa marked the origin of the entire human race. Dispersal (and later reuniting) of people over the face of the earth led to a variety of physical types. Biologically different races do not exist; only the human race remains.
6000 B.C.E.	Egypt became an organized nation, predating European history and culture by thousands of years. The source of Egypt's people and culture (the mythical Land of Punt) is present-day Somalia, Sudan, and Ethiopia.
2980 B.C.E.	During Egypt's Third Dynasty lived Imhotep, the multigenius architect, astronomer, poet, magician, philosopher, and the real father of medicine. He designed the earliest stone building after which the pyramids were modeled. His best known saying was: "Eat, drink, and be merry for tomorrow we shall die." (J.A. Rogers, *World's Great Men of Color*, pp. 38-42)
1700 B.C.E.	The first civilization of Europe was established on the Island of Crete. The ancestors of Cretans were Africans.
600 B.C.E.	The Iron Age began in Egypt. The Greek historian, Herodotus, stated that iron tools were used in building the Great Pyramid.

Much of ancient Greek mythology had its origin in Egypt. The Greeks referred to Ethiopia as the "land of burnt faces." Herodotus believed that the origin of the myth of Hercules was Egyptian. The Black Athenian poet, Euripides, referred to Ulysses "of sable hue, short woolly curls. . . ." The gods and goddesses of Greece were considered Ethiopian: Zeus, Dionysus, Apollo, Aphrodite, Artemis, etc. The great men of Greece journeyed to Egypt for study: Thales, Anaximander, Pythagoras, Solon, and Herodotus. Greek scholars who studied at Alexandria were Archimedes, Eratosthenes, Hipparchus, Ptolemy, and Plato. (Lerone Bennett, Before the Mayflower, p. 5)

Some famous African figures: noted general, Hannibal; writer of fables, Aesop, sixth century slave of the Greeks; famous dramatist, Terence, Roman slave; emperor of Rome (193-211 C.E.), Septimus Severus; Christian historian, Saint Augustine. (J.A. Rogers, *World's Great Men of Color*)

9th to 13th centuries.	The first real civilization to reach Europe during the Middle Ages came from Moorish Spain. By the time of Columbus, Spain had become Christian and the Age of Enlightenment ended.
13th century.	West African civilization was at its peak. The university and commercial cities of the Songhay Empire on the Niger River were already legendary in Europe. Great kingdoms existed throughout Africa as far south as Zimbabwe. (Basil Davidson, *Africa in History*)

15th century.	Invasions from the north, the Atlantic slave trade, and finally, the colonial partition of Africa led to its decline.
1440s.	A Papal Bull allowed Christians to enslave any non-Christians. The rationale for slavery was religious; color played no part in this early decision. In Spain and Portugal the baptized slave took on the status of the free servant. (Lerone Bennett, "White Servitude in America," *Ebony*, November 1969, pp. 31-40, and Eric Williams, *Capitalism and Slavery*, pp. 3-29.)
End of the 15th century.	Descendents of free Africans were among the first settlers of the New World. They came with explorers Columbus, Cortes, Balboa, and Pizarro.

Were Europeans the first to explore the Americas? Columbus in his log told of Black traders from Guinea. Early historians told of African kings who sent ships across the Atlantic. Many cultural discoveries in South America are of African origin. (John G. Jackson, *Introduction to African Civilization*, pp. 232-63, and Carter G. Woodson, *The Story of the Negro Retold*, p. 14)

The Colonial Period

The decline of feudalism, the beginnings of capitalism, the need for raw materials and new markets—these were the forces behind the founding of colonies.

The European invaders first proceeded to rob the indigenous people of the New World, then enslave them. When enslavement failed, the invaders turned to genocide, forcing the survivors onto reservations.

European servitude came next. About 70 percent of the European population of the American colonies was, at one time or another, indentured under conditions of involuntary servitude closely resembling slavery. These were the poor, criminals, prisoners of war (Scotch and Irish victims of Cromwell's campaigns), kidnapped children, religious dissidents, and men dodging the European wars.

Later, labor shortages developed. Europe (Spain and Portugal by the seventeenth century and England in the eighteenth century) then turned to Africa for laborpower, for Africa was accessible by ship. At this time, there were no attitudes of white supremacy based on skin color. The need for slavery was economic, and the rationale was still religious. (Eric Williams, *Capitalism and Slavery*)

1619 A year before the arrival of the Mayflower, a ship landed at Jamestown, Virginia, with 19 Black Africans. The first Black Africans who came to America worked as indentured servants and then were freed, the same as many Europeans. These Africans could then work for wages, own land, vote, own servants (Black or white), and intermarry. However, the Africans lacked protection from their own government, and it was later found cheaper to enslave them for life than to set them free and pay them wages. The need was primarily economic, and the rationale was still religious. (Lerone Bennett, *Before the Mayflower,* and Eric Williams, *Capitalism and Slavery*)

During the hundreds of years of chattel slavery, African captives were obtained through warfare, trickery, banditry, and kidnapping. Some 15 million thus reached the Americas alive, with an estimated three times that figure dying along the way. This forcible removal of many able-bodied young people was devastating to Africa.

1661 The first slave laws came into existence.

Slave Resistance in the Colonial Period

The slaveholders' portrayal of Africans as naturally childlike, submissive, and servile was nothing more than a propaganda war manufactured to justify the abhorrent, evil, and inhuman practice of chattel slavery—a business that made many white men rich and powerful. The racist ideology that grew out of that enrivonment eventually became institutionalized and firmly entrenched in the American psyche.

The "moonlight, molassas, and magnolia" myth of the peaceful, happy, and contented slave was belied by constant slave unrest, arson, rebellion, and defection. Fear of fugutive slaves aiding the Indians in their forays against the plantations added to the feeling of insecurity and panic.

To contain the slaves, armed patrols became a constant and regular part of plantation life. Military schools and academies appeared throughout the South, and along with the expansionist aims of the slaveocracy were greatly responsible for the militarist direction of the United States today.

1661 In an early petition for freedom, Emanual Pieterson and Dorothy Angola, free Negroes, petitioned the Director-General and Lord Councillor of New Netherlands for the freedom of their adopted child. Petitioning became a widely used weapon in the freedom fight. (Herbert Aptheker, ed., *A Documentary History of the Negro People in the United States*,Vol. 1, p. 1)

1663 The first serious conspiracy involving Black slaves occurred in Virginia. White indentured servants conspired with the Africans. The plot was betrayed and the rebels were executed. This is but one of many hundreds of attempts at freedom. (Herbert Aptheker, *American Negro Slave Revolts*, pp. 164-65) The need for ever greater profits and the constant threat of slave revolt brought harsher restrictions and systems of control. In time the South became an armed camp.

Ideological control, too, became (and still is) a powerful weapon in the hands of the whites. To maintain injustice requires that it be rationalized. From the time of the American Revolution to the Civil War and beyond, a vast body of literature appeared—history, biology, religion, sociology, ethnology, and "race"—all designed to prove biological differences according to race and to establish Black inferiority. As slavery became institutionalized, so did the ideology of white supremacy. (Earl Conrad, *The Invention of the Negro*)

1660-1670 Slave codes were established. Children now followed the slave condition of their mother. Baptized slaves were no longer given freedom. Should a slave's death result from punishment, the master was not to be held responsible. Slaves could not meet, even for religious purposes, without the presence of a white. Prohibited were guns, clubs, horns, and drums (these last two were ancient methods of communication). Slaves could not vote, ride horseback, testify in court, or control their own children. Slave marriages were not recognized. Families could be separated at the will of the master. Slave resistance took many forms: refusing to work, working as slowly as possible, damaging tools, killing farm animals, self-inflicted injury, burning buildings, destroying crops, "misunderstanding" orders, running away, organizing escape (underground railroad), buying freedom, and causing insurrection. (Herbert Aptheker, *American Negro Slave Revolts*)

Maroons were groups of slaves who ran off to the swamps and forests and lived there for generations, making sporadic guerrilla raids on the surrounding communities. Evidence of at least 50 communities has been found .... Some 2,000 such fugitives and their descendants were thought to have lived in the Dismal Swamp between Virginia and North Carolina. (Herbert Aptheker, *Journal of Negro History*, vol. 24, pp. 167-84)

1750 *The Boston Gazette*, October 2, carried an ad asking for return of Crispus (Attucks), escaped slave.

1769 *Virginia Gazette* (Purdie and Dixon) September 21, 1769:

"RUN away from subscriber in Albemarle, a Mulatto slave called Sandy, about 35 years of age .... Whoever conveys the said slave to me, in Albemarle, shall have 40s ...."

(signed) Thomas Jefferson

(*The Journal of Negro History*, Fall, 1978. pp. 373-74)

1770s On May 5, 1770, runaway slave Crispus Attucks led a group against the British soldiers in Boston. He was killed along with four others. Said Daniel Webster, "From that moment we may date the severance of the British Empire." (Lerone Bennett, *Before the Mayflower*, p. 55)

Advertisement in the Annapolis, Maryland, *Gazette*, August 20, 1771:

"RAN away from a Plantation of the Subscriber's . . . the following Negroes, viz. Pere, 35 or 40 years of age . . . Jack, 30 years (or thereabouts) . . . Neptune, aged 25 or 30 . . . Cupid, 23 or 25 years old ....

Whoever apprehends the said Negroes . . . Forty Shillings Reward ...."

(signed) George Washington

The Revolutionary War Period to the Civil War

Black people were desirous of freedom and independence and took it where they could. Black soldiers fought at Lexington, Concord, Ticonderoga, and Bunker Hill; they were with the Green Mountain Boys. At least 5,000 fought in the Revolutionary Army, while thousands went over to the British, hoping for freedom. Another 100,000 "got freedom with their feet," escaping to Canada or Nova Scotia or running off with the Indians. Black soldiers also came from Haiti—the Fontages Legion—and fought at the Siege of Savannah. (Benjamin Quarles, *The Negro in the American Revolution*, and Lerone Bennett, *Before the Mayflower*, pp. 48-69)

1773 Phyllis Wheatley, the poet, was the first Black female slave and the second woman in America to publish a book. America's first Black author was Jupiter Hammon, 1760. (E. Franklin Frazier, *The Negro in the United States*, p. 493)

1776 One of the first independent Black churches was the Harrison Street Baptist Church at Petersburg, Virginia.

Through the efforts of Prince Hall, African Masonic Lodge No. 1 was organized on July 3. In 1791, Prince Hall was made "Provincial Grand Master of North America." Today there are over 500,000 lodge members. (John Hope Franklin, *From Slavery to Freedom*, p. 164)

The Declaration of Independence was revolutionary to the extent that it demanded independence from British domination, but proslavery forces maintained the slave system. Not only did northern business and banking institutions become tied in with the slave system, but slavery became entrenched in highest government circles. Twelve of our first 16 presidents owned slaves, and a number of these had children by their slaves. The system of slavery intensified the oppression of all women. The degrading effects of oppressions were noted by the wife of President James Madison, who spoke of the white wife as "the chief mistress in a house of prostitution." (Herbert Aptheker, *Political Affairs Magazine*, February 1971, pp. 57-58)

1787 Absolam Jones and Richard Allen organized the Philadelphia Free African Society. This mutual assistance society had insurance features and was the forerunner of today's Black insurance organizations. Allen was chiefly responsible for the founding of the African Methodist Church, which became independent in 1816. (Charles H. Wesley, *Richard Allen: Apostle of Freedom*)

1788 The Constitution of the United States was ratified. Neither American Indians nor slaves had civil or legal rights, but Article I, Section 2, of the Constitution allowed two-thirds of the slaves to be counted in determining representatives to congress, thus giving the South abnormally large representation.

1789 Oloudah Equiano, former slave, published his autobiography in England. He states: "When you make men slaves . . . you compel them to live with you in a state of war . . . ." (Paul Edwards, ed., *Equiano's Travels*, p. 73)

1790 James Derham was the first Black physician in North America. He enjoyed a flourishing practice among the elite of New Orleans. (*M.D. Medical News Magazine*, April 1963, p. 202)

1791 The successful slave revolt on the French colony of Haiti had a direct and immediate effect of stimulating and supporting the French Revolution. Napoleon's attempt to crush the Haitian revolt failed. The loss of soldiers was so great that he could no longer maintain his hold on Louisiana, which he was forced to sell to the U.S. The revolt was also directly responsible for ending the British slave trade. (C.L.R. James, *The Black Jacobins*)

1793 The Fugitive Slave Law was based on Article IV, Section 2, of the Constitution, which states that a person held to service shall not be considered free by virtue of having fled into a free state.

1800 During Gabriel Prosser's slave uprising many thousands of Black people were betrayed. Stated one slave just before execution, "I have nothing more to offer than what General Washington would have to offer had he been taken by the British and put to trial by them." (Herbert Aptheker, *American Negro Slave Revolts*, p. 223)

1806 Benjamin Banneker died, October 6. Born November 9, 1731, he was called the first Black man of science. He was noted as a mathematician, clockmaker, surveyor, astronomer, poet, musician, and abolitionist. (Silvio A. Bedini, *The Life of Benjamin Banneker*)

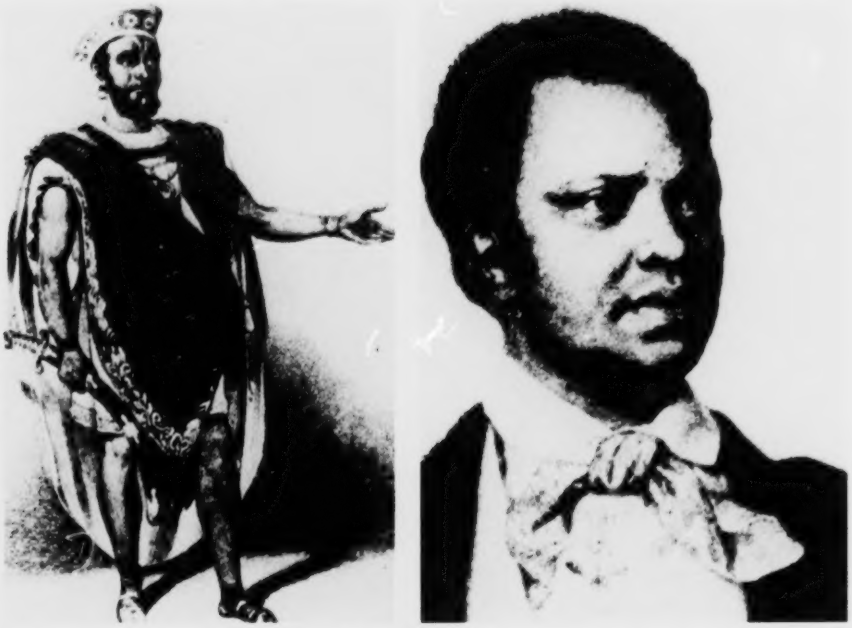
1811 United States troops suppressed a slave uprising in two parishes some 35 miles from New Orleans. The revolt was led by Charles Deslands. Some 100 slaves were killed or executed. (*The Negro Almanac*, p.10)

Black nationalist Paul Cuffee commanded a ship that sailed to Africa with 38 Black emigrants from America.

1816 The American Colonization Society was formed. Its purpose was the deportation of free Black people who were considered a menace to the slave system. The Society met with determined opposition from virtually all Black people. (Carter G. Woodson and Charles H. Wesley, *The Negro in Our History*, pp. 281-93)

1820 The Missouri Compromise was passed by Congress, excluding slavery from the Louisiana Purchase north of 36° 30', except for the new state of Missouri.

The African Grove Theatre was formed in New York. James Hewlett and Ira Aldridge were the first of the great Black Shakespearean actors. Jim Crow customs drove Aldridge to England, where he became famous. (Langston Hughes and Milton Meltzer, *A Pictorial History of the Negro in America*, p. 74)



Ira Aldridge

1822 Many thousands of Black people were involved in the Denmark Vesey Conspiracy of Charleston, South Carolina. The 37 who were hanged followed the conduct of Peter Poyas who stated, "Do not open your lips! Die silent as you shall see me do." (Herbert Aptheker, *American Negro Slave Revolts*, p. 272)

1827 *Freedom's Journal*, the first Black newspaper, made its appearance four years before *Garrison's Liberator*. Extracts of the first edition include the following: ". . . Too long have others spoken for us . . . we should not be unmindful of our brethren who are still in the iron fetters of bondage." (Herbert Aptheker, ed., *A Documentary History of the Negro People in the United States*, vol. 1, p. 82)

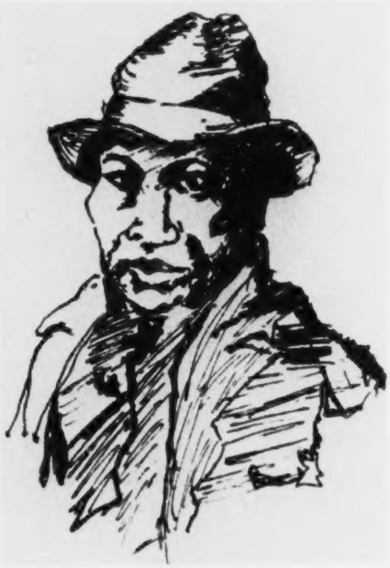
1829 David Walker's *Appeal* was published. He asked slaves to throw off their chains. (David Walker, *One Continual Cry: David Walker's Appeal to the Colored Citizens of the World, 1829-1830*)

Both the Vesey Conspiracy and Walker's *Appeal* struck terror into the white South. South Carolina passed a law forbidding free Black seamen from leaving their vessels when in the state's ports, and in other states free Blacks were prevented by law from entertaining or visiting with slaves because of their frequent cooperation in an uprising. (Philip S. Foner, *Organized Labor and the Black Worker*, p. 9)

1831 The organizational work first begun in 1787 continued. For the single city of Philadelphia, an advertisement appeared in the *Gazette* in which were listed 16 male societies formed between 1795 and 1830, and 27 female societies formed between 1793 and 1830. These organizations collected monthly contributions from their members to be used in assisting the sick, unemployed, widows and orphans, and for burial services. (Herbert Aptheker, *A Documentary History of the Negro People in the United States*, pp. 111-14)

The first Annual Negro Convention was held in Philadelphia. (Philip S. Foner. ed., *The Voice of Black America*, pp. 56-60)

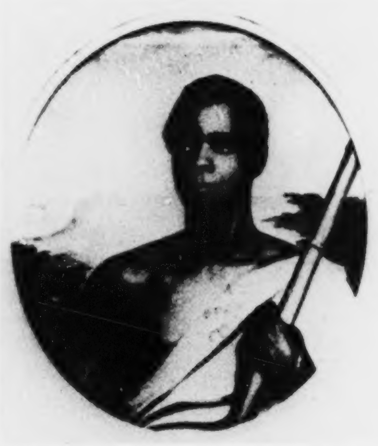
Nat Turner's Rebellion. Turner had at one time run away from his master (as his father had done, never to return), but returned because he felt he had a divine mission to free the slaves. His rebellion began on August 21 with the aid of six other slaves. He was soon joined by more than 50 additional slaves. Fifty-five whites were killed, and over 100 slaves and free Blacks were summarily shot or beheaded in retaliation. Trials were held later and many Blacks were hanged. Turner was later captured, and while in prison was questioned about his life and the rebellion. When asked if he did not find himself mistaken, he replied: "Was not Christ crucified?" (Herbert Aptheker, *Nat Turner's Slave Rebellion*. See also, *The Negro History Bulletin*, March and April 1955, "The Family of Nat Turner, 1831 to 1954," by Lucy Mae Turner, granddaughter of Nat Turner.)



Nat Turner

1836 Sam Houston's proslavery men forced the secession of Texas from Mexico. In 1844 slaveowner James Polk won the presidential election on an annexationist platform. Texas became a state in 1845.

1839 Slaves aboard the Amistad seized the slave ship and obtained freedom after a long legal battle.



Joseph Cinque, African prince, leader of the revolt aboard the slave ship Amistad.

1841 Black inventor Norbert Rillieux obtained a patent on a vacuum-pan sugar-refining process. (Louis Haber, *Black Pioneers of Science and Invention*, pp. 13-23)

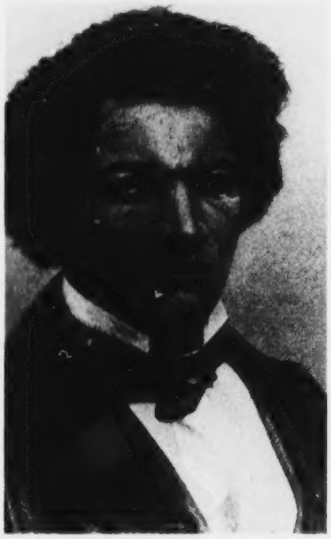
1846 Southern slavemasters desperately needed new land to expand their slave economy and for this reason involved the United States in a war with Mexico. (William Loren Katz, *Eyewitness: The Negro in American History*, pp. 102-13)

Henry David Thoreau went to jail rather than pay his taxes during the war. Having served in the invasion, Ulysses S. Grant said; "I do not think there was ever a more wicked war than that waged by the United States on Mexico." (William Loren Katz, *Eyewitness: The Negro in American History*, p. 78)

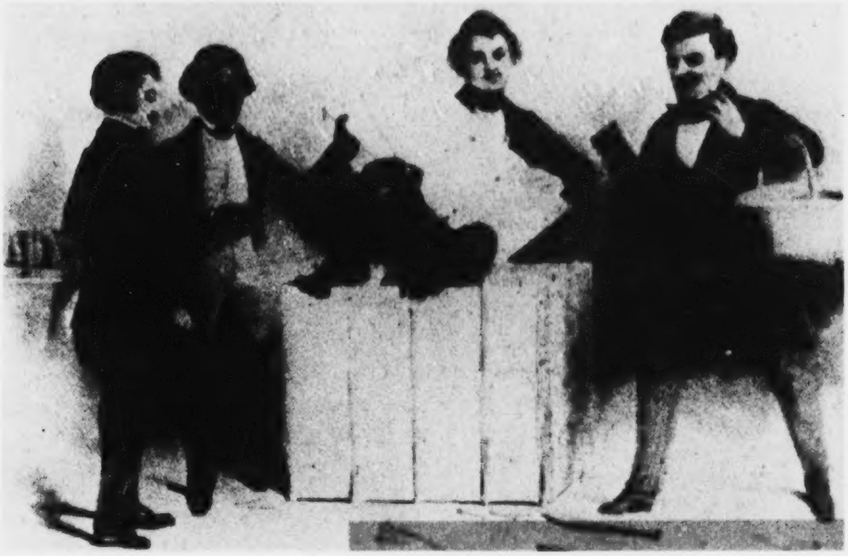
According to the terms of the peace treaty signed in 1848, Mexico lost half of its national territory—over 900,000 square miles constituting California, Nevada, Utah, most of Arizona, a substantial part of New Mexico, and small parts of Colorado and Wyoming. The Mexican, Spanish, and Indian people of the area were shamefully exploited, and proslavery attitudes became prevalent in many of the new territories.

1847 The first issue of Frederick Douglass' *North Star* appeared. This was the ninth Black paper since *Freedom's Journal*. (Philip S. Foner, *The Life and Writings of Frederick Douglass*, Vol. 1, pp. 84-89)

1848 The following are statements on the Mexican War from the January 28 issue of the *North Star*: "... [t]he evil spreads. Large demands are made on the national treasury, (to wit: the poor man's pockets) .... The curse is upon us .... The people appear to be completely in the hands of office seekers, demagogues and political gamblers . . . a general outcry is heard.... 'Mexico must be humbled!... National Honor! ... Free institutions!' " (Philip S. Foner, *The Life and Writings of Frederick Douglass*, 1950, vol. I. p. 292)



Frederick Douglass



Henry 'Box' Brown makes his escape from slavery.

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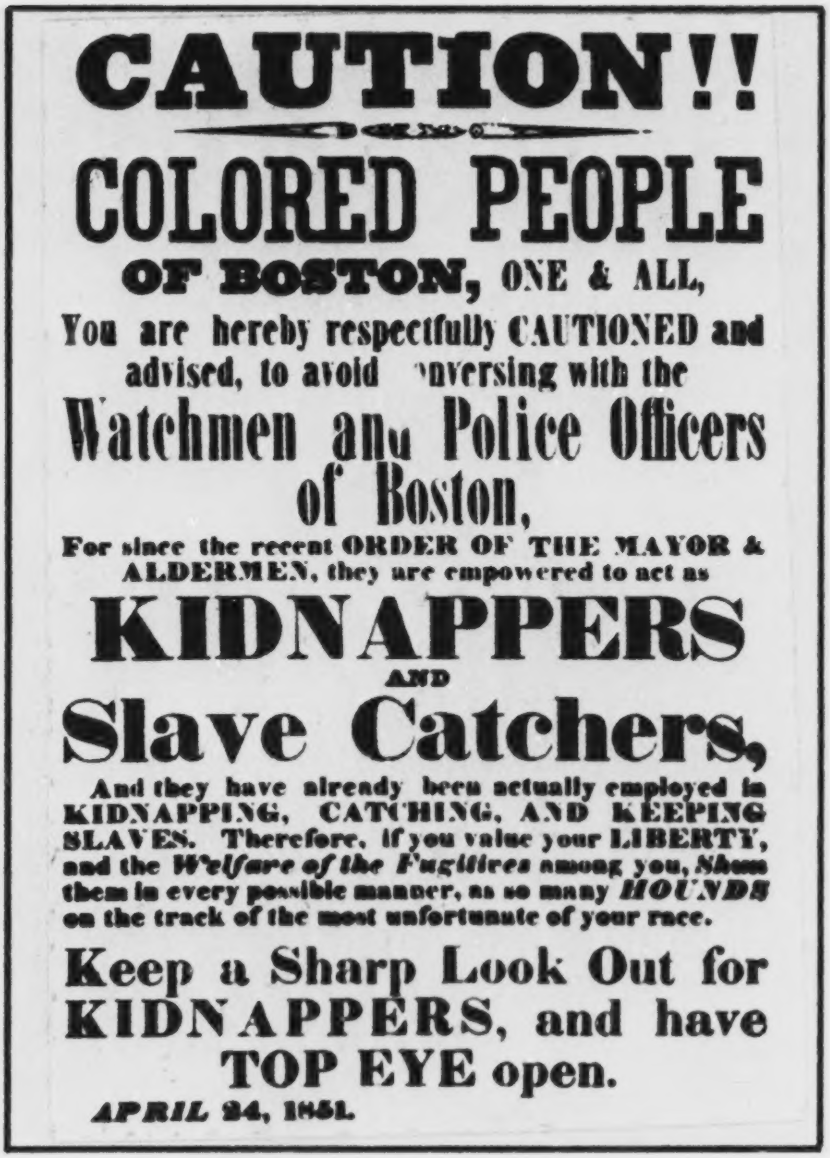
Henry Brown, a Virginia slave, climbed into a box and had a white friend nail it up and send him by express to Philadelphia.

Slaves William and Ellen Craft made a dramatic escape from Macon, Georgia.



CAUTION!!

COLORED PEOPLE

OF BOSTON, ONE & ALL,

You are hereby respectfully CAUTIONED and advised, to avoid conversing with the

Watchmen and Police Officers of Boston,

For since the recent ORDER OF THE MAYOR & ALDERMEN, they are empowered to act as

KIDNAPPERS

AND

Slave Catchers,

And they have already been actually employed in KIDNAPPING, CATCHING, AND KEEPING SLAVES. Therefore, if you value your LIBERTY, and the *Welfare of the Fugitives* among you, *Shun* them in every possible manner, as so many *HOUNDS* on the track of the most unfortunate of your race.

Keep a Sharp Look Out for KIDNAPPERS, and have TOP EYE open.

APRIL 24, 1851.

Black abolitionists issue a warning.

1850 A more effective Fugitive Slave Act was passed. Slaveholders were allowed to pursue their "property" into other states. Federal marshals were instructed to aid slaveowners. (William Loren Katz, *Eyewitness: The Negro in American History*, pp. 188-89, and John Hope Franklin, *From Slavery to Freedom*, pp. 260-65 and pp. 367-70)

The Missouri Compromise provides for the entry of Missouri into the Union as a slave state, and Maine's entry as a free state which makes 12 free and 12 slave states.

1852 "What to the American slave is your Fourth of July? . . . To him your celebration is a sham. . . . Your sermons and thanksgivings, with all your religious parade and solemnity, are to him mere bombast, fraud, deception, impiety, and hypocrisy—a thin veil to cover up crimes which would disgrace a nation of savages." (From a speech of Frederick Douglass, Rochester, N.Y., July 4)

Robert Morris was the first African-American magistrate in the United States. He was appointed by the governor of Massachusetts in 1852. (*The Negro Almanac*, p. 338)

1853 In spite of wide-spread racism, white waiters in New York supported Black waiters in their successful demand for $16 per month (Philip S. Foner, *Organized Labor and the Black Worker*, p. 10).

1854 The "Knights of the Golden Circle" was organized. This was a slave-expansionist scheme designed to make Havana the center of a huge slave empire. Plans came to an end with the onset of the Civil War. (John Hope Franklin, *The Militant South*, pp. 124-28)

The Kansas-Nebraska Act admits the territories of Kansas and Nebraska to the Union without slavery restrictions. This is in direct contradiction to the provisions of the Missouri Compromise.

Joshua Glover, a slave who escaped from Missouri and who sought asylum in Racine, Wisconsin, was arrested by two United States marshals and taken to a Milwaukee, Wisconsin jail. "A hundred determined men landed by boat from Racine" and "great crowds gathered about the county jail." They demanded the slave's right to writ of habeas corpus and a trial by jury, but the federal officers would not recognize its validity. The jail doors were then battered down, and the slave taken to Canada and freedom. The sheriff arrested the slave-master (B. S. Garland) and the two marshals on a charge of assault. Garland obtained his release on a writ of habeas corpus; but Sherman Booth, a newspaper editor who had taken a leading part in the meeting to free Glover was arrested, along with two others, and a grand jury found a bill of indictment against them. After the State Supreme Court declared the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850 unconstitutional, the United States Supreme Court reversed and sentenced Booth to one month in the county jail and $1,000 fine plus costs. In addition, the owner of the slave obtained judgment against Booth for $1,000—the value of the slave. The Glover episode was a potent factor in pushing the legislature, in 1857, to enact a law "to prevent kidnapping." (Henry E. Legler, *Leading Events in Wisconsin History*, pp. 226-29)

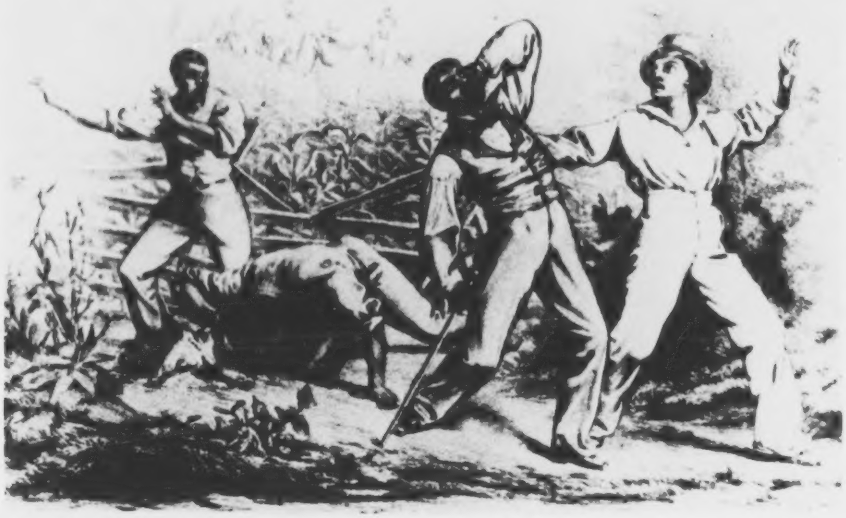
1855 Mifflin Wistar Gibbs helped to publish *The Mirror of the Times*, the first Black-oriented newspaper in California. After studying law, he was appointed County Attorney of Pulaski County in Little Rock, Arkansas, and in 1873, was elected to the office of City Judge—the first Black person in the nation elected to such a post. In 1867, he was appointed United States Consul to Madagascar, another first.

1857 Historical Notes. William Noland (1811-1880), Madison, Wisconsin, resident from 1850-1880, was a barber, baker, chiropodist, ice cream maker, musician, veterinarian, grocery operator, clothes cleaner, and dyer. Governor Bashford appointed him in 1857 as Wisconsin's first Black notary public. Noland attempted to organize volunteers for the Civil War, but received no response from Governor Randall. He achieved public notice when he refused to cut the hair of a slave catcher. In 1866, one week after Black people had gotten their citizenship in Wisconsin, he was drafted by the Democrats to run for the office of mayor of Madison. He declined because of the Democrats' hostility to equal rights, but nevertheless got one-fourth of the votes cast. (*Madison Press Connection*, April 16, 1979, p. 8)

Dred Scott, a slave, was brought by his master into free territory. There he married and raised a family. Later, his master brought him back to the slave state of Missouri. After suing for their freedom, Supreme Court Chief Justice Roger Taney on March 6 wrote the majority decision stating that Scott was a slave, not a citizen, and "had no rights which a white man was bound to respect." He stated further that the slaveholders had the right to take their slaves into any territory of the United States and hold them in bondage there.

Commented Frederick Douglass: "The Supreme Court . . . (was) not the only power in this world. We, the abolitionists and colored people, should meet this decision, unlooked for and monstrous as it appears, in a cheerful spirit. This attempt to blot out forever the hopes of an enslaved people may be one necessary link in the chain of events preparatory to the complete overthrow of the whole slave system." (Philip S. Foner, *Life and Writings of Frederick Douglas*, vol. 2, p. 412; and John Hope Franklin, *From Slavery to Freedom*, p. 267-68)

1859 John Brown, a life-long opponent of slavery, and 18 men, five of them Black, began their raid on October 16 in an attempt to capture the federal arsenal and armory at Harper's Ferry, Virginia. Their aim was the destruction of slavery and the emancipation of the slaves. Clarence Darrow described this martyr against slavery as "... a type that here and there through the ages has



Fleeing the slave catchers.

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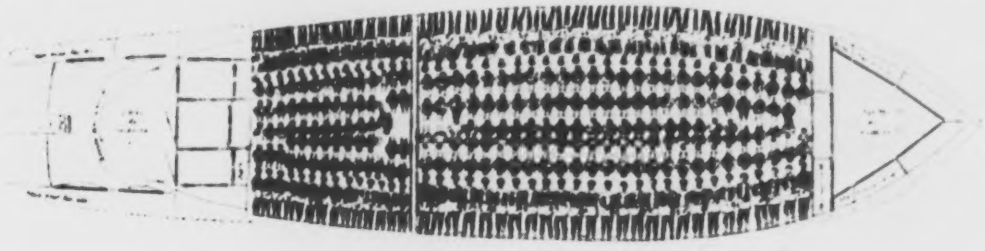
been needful to kindle a flame that should burn the decaying institutions and ancient wrongs in a crucible of a world's awakening wrath."

John A. Copeland, a fugitive slave who was sentenced to die along with Brown, stated: "If I am dying for freedom, I could not die for a better cause—I had rather die than be a slave!" (Herbert Aptheker, *John Brown*, pp. 3 and 21; Benjamin Quarles, *Blacks on John Brown*, W.E.B. Du Bois, *John Brown*, and Philip S. Foner, *Life and Writings of Frederick Douglass*, vol. 2, p. 568)

1860 Martin R. Delany, doctor, dentist, explorer, Civil War major, and politician, traveled to Nigeria in search of Black commercial and cultural ties and possibilities of emigration. (Martin R. Delany and Robert Campbell, *Search for a Place: Black Separatism and Africa*, 1860)

Fugitive slave Charles Nalle was taken by slave catchers. Harriet Tubman led the battle that freed him from the police at Troy, New York. (Earl Conrad, *Harriet Tubman*, pp. 131-38)



Cross section of a typical slave ship.

By this time some 15 million Africans had been brought to the Americas. An estimated three out of four died in the slaving wars, were killed resisting enslavement, or died of disease en route to the Americas. Thus, it can be estimated that Africa lost 60 million people. (For more information, see Philip Curtain's *The Atlantic Slave Trade: A Census, 1969*)

1871 On July 3 Joseph Henry Douglass, violinist, orchestra leader, and grandson of Frederick Douglass, was born in Washington, D.C. Douglass taught violin at Howard University.

The Civil War

Until 1840 the predominant power in the U.S. was the slaveholding class, which had always dominated the presidency, the Supreme Court, the press, churches, and schools.

Industrialization expanded beginning in the 1840s, and with it, rapid urbanization, mostly in the North. The northern merchant and industrial classes, which had formerly dealt in southern agricultural products, became engaged in handling both agricultural and industrial products of the North, thus coming into direct conflict with the slaveholders who, they felt, stood in the way of expansion.

This caused a split in the Democratic Party, with one wing (Breckinridge of Kentucky) supporting the South and the other (Douglas of Illinois) supporting the North in the 1860 elections.

In addition, a more progressive section, which developed into the Republican Party, was supported by a large section of the working people (many of them exiles from revolutionary Europe of 1830 and 1848) and by a powerful abolitionist movement of both Blacks and whites.

As the large slaveholding class became more concentrated, the internal conflicts within the South became more acute. There was strong unrest among the slaves and the non-slaveholding poor whites. In eight slaveholding states, the question of secession was never submitted for a vote, and in two others, a vote was taken only after the war had started—and in these states about one-third voted against secession, with a large section of the poor and landless not voting. The literary portrayal of a monolithic South was a myth. It was in desperation, then, that the slaveholding South turned to war as their last hope of sustaining and expanding their system.

Although the maintenance and extension of slavery was at the heart of the Confederate effort, Lincoln, in the beginning of the Civil War, fought only with the idea of holding the Union together. Yet, it was the Abolitionists—both the slaves themselves who were resisting slavery and their organized Black and white counterparts in the North—who were the first to call for the complete abolition of slavery without compensation, and whose efforts ultimately determined the victorious direction of the war. Also very important to that struggle were those many leading abolitionists who saw beyond abolition as a war necessity, who saw the eradication of racism as a moral and ethical imperative—a fear that without this, everything would go wrong.

The ultimate collapse of the South, in spite of superior resources, military training, and supplies, can be attributed, among other things, to lack of popular support among whites. In addition, at least 500,000 slaves fled North, many to join the Union Army. Many who remained behind became the "eyes and ears" of the Union Army.

1860	South Carolina seceded on December 20.
1861	On April 12 Fort Sumter was fired on. Abraham Lincoln attempted to fight a "constitutional" war—with or without slavery. Said Frederick Douglass: "The simple way, then, to put an end to the savage and desolating war now waged by the slaveholders is to strike down slavery itself, the prime cause of the war." (Philip S. Foner, *The Life and Writings of Frederick Douglass*, vol. 3, p. 94)

On April 29, 300 Black men of Washington, D.C., offered their services for the Union Army, but the offer was refused. Similar offers came from New York, Michigan, and elsewhere, but all were rejected.

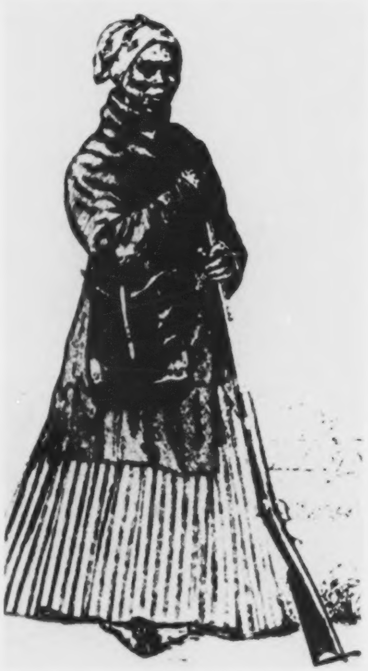
In May, after General Butler entered Fort Monroe, Virginia, thousands of slaves seeking freedom besieged the camp. By 1862, a Confederate general estimated that North Carolina lost a million dollars worth of slaves each week. (Herbert Aptheker, *American Negro Slave Revolts*, pp. 359-74)

1862 Under pressure from both Black and white antislavery leaders, the first Black regiment was formed. Over 200,000 Black men fought in the Union armies in 450 battles; 40,000 were killed. Segregated units lasted until the Korean War in the 1950s. (Thomas W. Higginson, *Army Life in a Black Regiment*)

"Much as I value the apparent hostility to slavery in the North, I plainly see that it is less the outgrowth of high and intelligent moral conviction against slavery as such, than because of the trouble its friends have brought upon the country. I would have hated slavery for that and more. A man that hates slavery for what it does to the white man stands ready to embrace it the moment its injuries are confided to the Black man, and he ceases to feel those injuries in his own person." Frederick Douglass in a speech given at Cooper Union, New York City, February 6, 1862. (Herbert Aptheker, *Abolitionism: A Revolutionary Movement*)

1863 Abraham Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation in January. Welcomed by Black conventions, trade unions, and Republican press, the Proclamation caused Democrats to call Lincoln a dictator and southern religious bodies to unite in protest. (Phillip S. Foner, *Life and Times of Frederick Douglass*, pp. 351-57, and William Z. Foster, *The Negro People in American History*, p. 256)

Harriet Tubman of Underground Railroad fame (she brought 300 slaves to freedom) organized and led guerrilla raids into Confederate territory. (Earl Conrad, *Harriet Tubman*, pp. 169-78)



Harriet Tubman as a soldier.

1864 Three hundred Black prisoners at Fort Pillow were massacred during April by orders of Confederate General Nathan B. Forrest, who later became the first Grand Wizard of the Ku Klux Klan. (W.E.B. Du Bois, *Black Reconstruction in America*, p. 114)

1865 The Freedman's Bureau was created on March 3 to deal with social problems. It kept destitute whites as well as Blacks and provided schools for African-Americans. It established Howard University and helped to found Atlanta University, Fisk University, Talladega College, Tougaloo College, and Hampton Institute.

Abraham Lincoln investigated the possibility of deporting all Black people to Africa. (W.E.B. Du Bois, *Black Reconstruction in America*, pp. 145-49)

Abraham Lincoln was assassinated on April 14. Former slaveowner Andrew Johnson became president.

The Thirteenth Amendment was passed on December 18.

Section 1. Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

Section 2. Congress shall have the power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

To the Honorable, the Senate and Assembly of the State of Wisconsin, at Madison Assembled:

The undersigned Colored Citizens of the State of Wisconsin, respectfully petition your Honorable bodies and ask that the necessary legal steps be taken, and provision made in accordance with the constitution of this State, to submit the question of granting the right of suffrage to Colored Men of the age of twenty-one years, to the voters of this State in the next general election. We respectfully submit that by Law we are taxed and liable to Military Duty as other men. It seems to us but justice that we should have a voice in determining how the taxes should be expended, and how and when our services shall be rendered.

Dated January 24, 1865; signed by 102 citizens of color. (Original document from State Historical Society of Wisconsin.)

A Boston monument depicting Col. Robert Shaw leading a Black regiment during the Civil War

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Reconstruction and Post-Reconstruction

Reconstruction was a continuing phase of the Civil War, with the stage of armed conflict passing into a primarily political struggle to consolidate the victory over slavery. The fight for democracy required the recognition of the former slaves as citizens (Fourteenth Amendment, Section 1), while at the same time disfranchising those state and federal elected officials and officers who participated in the rebellion (Fourteenth Amendment, Section 3).

There was much popular support, too, in the formation of the Union leagues, citizens' militias, and the people's assemblies.

The Reconstruction Act was passed on March 2, 1867. This act divided the ten former slave states into five military districts, each headed by a general officer whose duties were to maintain order, protect people and property, suppress insurrection, and allow civil tribunals to try offenders.

Section 5 dealt with the formation of state constitutions in conformity with the constitution of the United States, framed by a convention of delegates elected by male citizens at least 21 years old regardless of race, color, or previous condition of servitude, except those who were disfranchised for participation in the rebellion or for felonies at common law.

No state was to be admitted to the union until it had ratified the Fourteenth Amendment. For the first time Black men participated in political conventions, helped write new state constitutions, and held office. Twenty Black men were elected to Congress and two became senators. Hundreds held office on state and municipal levels, including six who became lieutenant governors, two treasurers, four superintendents of education, and eight secretaries of state. More than 600 served in state legislatures. Because of pressure primarily from Black people, the South for the first time got a public school system.

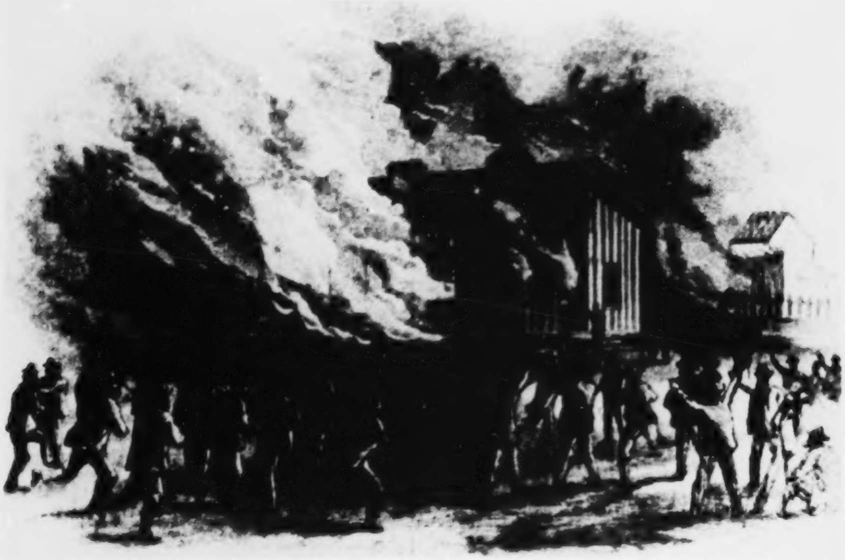
In this period the U.S. maintained troops in the South to enforce the laws arising out of the war—laws designed to give freedom and democracy to former slaves and free Negroes. Without the troops, free elections would have been impossible.

This period also saw rapid industrialization and especially the growth of railroads. Banking and industrial capital became the dominant power and the major force against continued democratization of the South. This led to the betrayal of Reconstruction. Failure to confiscate the plantations of the old slaveocracy and divide them up among the freedmen permitted the emergence of a semi-feudal agrarian economy based on sharecropping—sometimes referred to as the 'debt-slavery' system. In addition, President Johnson had earlier pardoned 14,000 top confederates, thus aiding in the restoration of political power to the old planter class.

In the Hayes-Tilden dispute for the presidency, Rutherford Hayes agreed to remove federal troops from the South in return for the backing of northern industrialists, who now saw it in their interest to undermine the powers of the Fifteenth Amendment—to rob free Black Americans of their right to vote.

With the troops gone, the Ku Klux Klan slaughter of Blacks (and white Republicans) accelerated. Black codes were established to control Negro farm labor "legally." Segregation laws were passed and the so-called "state's rights" laws allowed for the disfranchisement of Blacks and poor whites.

While the destruction of slavery as a social system was revolutionary, the fatal weakness of Reconstruction was the failure to break up the great landed estates and provide land (and continuing political and legal rights) for the freedmen. Much of the abandoned land was bought up by northern speculators, while the railroad promoters received gifts of no less than 160 million acres from the states and from the federal government as well as vast money grants. (William Z. Foster, *Outline Political History of the Americas*; W.E.B. Du Bois, *Black Reconstruction in America*; James S. Allen, *Reconstruction: The Battle for Democracy*; Ida B. Wells-Barnett, *On Lynching*; John Hope Franklin, *From Slavery to Freedom*; Allen W. Trelease, *White Terror*, William Loren Katz, *Eyewitness: The Negro In American History*; Lerone Bennett, *Black Power, U.S.A.*)



Burning a freedmen's school during a riot in Memphis in 1866

1867 In April, the first national meeting of the Ku Klux Klan was the beginning of a reign of terror and death against Black and white Republicans. Blacks fought back and held office until the turn of the century. The last Black congressman, until 1928, was George H. White of North Carolina who remained in office until 1901. (John Hope Franklin, *Reconstruction after the Civil War*, p. 154)

Address of the Colored Convention to the people of Alabama: "It will not be amiss to say that we claim exactly the same rights, privileges and immunities as are enjoyed by white men—we ask nothing more and will be content with nothing less. . . ." (James S. Allen, *Reconstruction: The Battle for Democracy*, p. 236)

1868 Reconstruction was undermined. Two state senators and 25 state representatives from the Georgia Legislature were expelled because they were Negroes. Representative Henry M. Turner protested the expulsion in the House: ". . . The scene presented in the House today is one unparalleled in the history of the world. From this day. . . no analogy for it can be found. Never, in the history of the world, has a man been arraigned before a body clothed with legislative, judicial, or executive functions and charged with the offense of being of a darker hue than his fellowmen . . . . The Anglo-Saxon race, sire, is a most surprising one . . . I was not aware that there was in the character of the race so much cowardice, or so much pusillanimity. . . ." (Herbert Aptheker, ed., *A Documentary History of the Negro People in the United States*, vol. 2, pp. 569-71)

The Fourteenth Amendment was passed on July 28.

Section I. All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they rêside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty or property, without due process of law, nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws. (In *Brown* v. *Board of Education*, 1954, the Supreme Court declared that to segregate school children by race was a denial of "the equal protection of the laws" under the Fourteenth Amendment. More recent cases under this amendment have protected Blacks' rights to equality and peaceful protest against grievance.)

Section 4. The validity of the public debt of the United States, authorized by law, including debts incurred for payment of pensions and bounties for services in suppressing insurrection or rebellion, shall not be questioned. But neither the United States nor any State shall assume or pay any debt or obligation incurred in aid of insurrection or rebellion against the United States, or any claim for the loss or emancipation of any slave; but all such debts, obligations, and claims shall be held illegal and void.

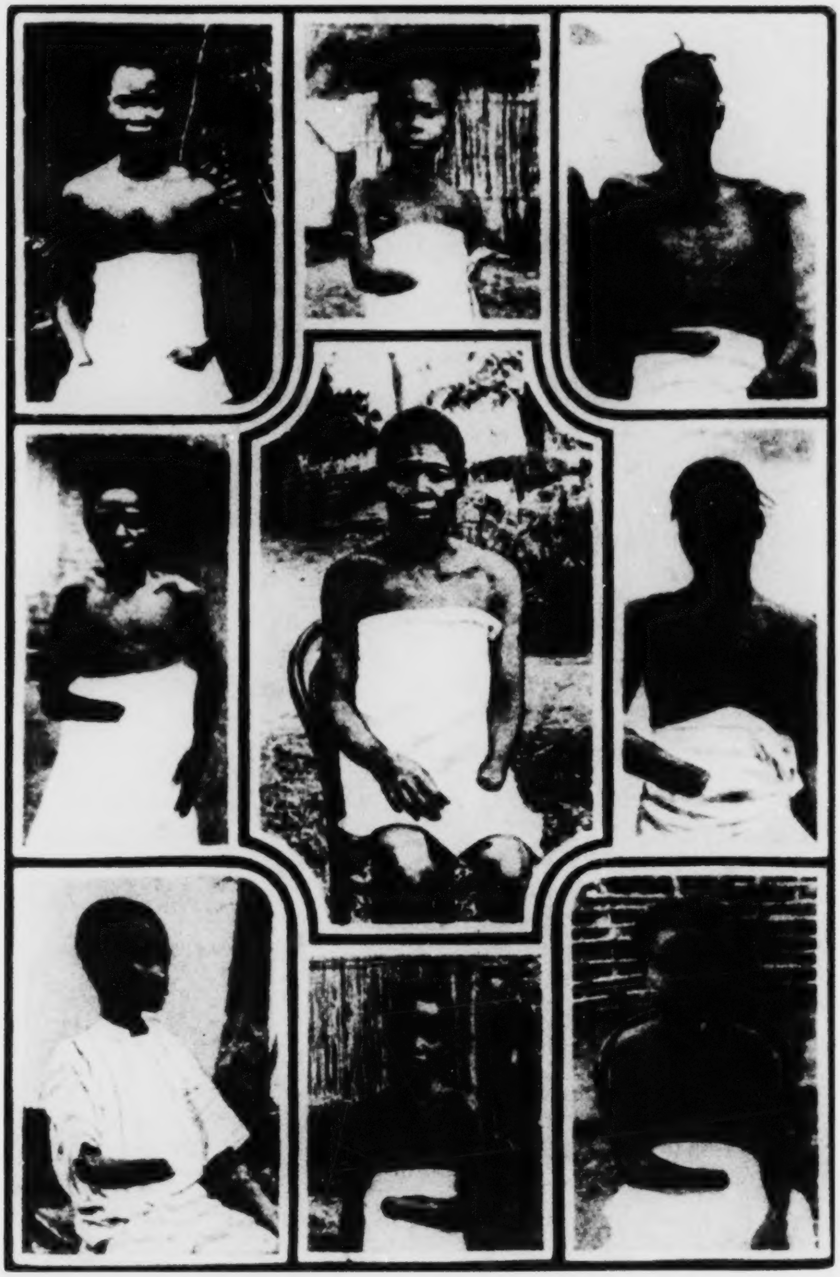
1869 Frances E. W. Harper, noted poet, published her *Moses, Story of the Nile*. Also of this general period was William Wells Brown, whose *Narrative* appeared in 1859; his first novel *Clotelle*; *or, The President's Daughter* was published in 1853. His novels and two plays were the first pieces of fiction and the first dramas by an African-American.

1870 The Fifteenth Amendment was passed on March 30.

Section 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color or previous condition of servitude.

Section 2. The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

1884 European powers came to an agreement on the division of Africa. The United States was the first nation to recognize and approve the rule of King Leopold over the people of the Congo. Vast slaughter of the Congolese people followed. Mark Twain's exposure of the slaughter (*King Leopold's Soliloquy*) in 1905 was suppressed when the Morgans, Rockefellers, and Guggenheims became financially involved in the Congo. ("Introduction," *King Leopold's Soliloquy*, pp. 12-17, and Edwin P. Hoyt, Jr., *The Guggenheims and the American Dream*, pp. 151-53)



Congolese victims of King Leopold's policy. Refusal to work or inability to "make quotas" was punished by loss of a hand. Thousands suffered this fate.

Black Organizational Activities from The Civil War to 1900: Labor, Press, Educational, Political, Fraternal, Legal

Although the Johnsonian Reconstruction governments did not wish to release their grip on African-Americans, Reconstruction (1865-1876) was a period of intense activity for the newly-freed slaves and free Black people. They, often working with poor whites, struggled to achieve ownership of land, fought against peonage and violence, and for the right to vote, for an education, to serve on juries, for decent wages, for an eight-hour day, the right to bear arms and to testify in court, and in general, to obtain equal treatment under the law.

This, too, was a period of organizational-building—fraternal societies, churches and clubs, schools and colleges, labor unions and newspapers, and numerous small businesses and cooperatives.

1862 The American Seamen's Protective Association, a pioneer organization of Negro labor, and the first seamen's organization of any kind, was formed in New York. (Philip S. Foner, *Organized Labor and the Black Worker*, pp. 14-15)

1866 Isaac Myers, who became the first important Black labor leader in America, organized a cooperative shipyard, the Chesapeake Marine Railway and Dry Dock Company. He also helped to organize, and became president of, the Colored Caulkers' Trade Union Society of Baltimore. (Philip S. Foner, *Organized Labor and the Black Worker*, pp. 21-22)

1867 Black longshoremen in Charleston, S.C., organized the Longshoremen's Protective Union Association and won a strike for higher wages. (Philip S. Foner, *Organized Labor and the Black Worker*, pp. 22)

1868 Philadelphia saw the organization of a Colored Brickmakers' Association as well as a Hod Carriers and Laborers' Association and a Workingman's Union. (Philip S. Foner, *Organized Labor and the Black Worker*, pp. 21-22)

1869 On December 6, 214 delegates from 18 states assembled in Union League Hall in Washington, D.C., and formed the Colored National Labor Union. They admitted both white and women delegates. Unlike the white National Labor Union, they opened their ranks to Chinese workers and to common laborers as well as skilled craftspersons. Isaac Myers, president, castigated white artisans for being "organized for the extermination of colored labor" and stated that Black and white labor must come together for mutual benefit. (Philip S. Foner, *Organized Labor and the Black Worker*, pp. 30-46)

1871 The Southern States Convention of Colored Men met in October in Columbia, South Carolina, to consider the political and civil rights of Negroes. (Philip S. Foner, *Organized Labor and the Black Worker*, pp. 42-43)

On May 12 a young boy launched a "sit-in" aboard a segregated Louisville horse-drawn streetcar. "Screaming white teenagers cursed him, and eventually dragged him from the car. When the youth finally fought back, he was arrested. In the days that followed, other Negroes—mostly young men—entered streetcars and sat strong and silent in the face of abuse. . . . The Louisville company, in the face of mounting violence and opposition, agreed to integrate their street railway." (William Loren Katz, *Eyewitness: The Negro In American History*, p. 343)

1872 Black inventor Elijah McCoy obtained a patent for a lubrication device.

1874 Blanche Kelso Bruce from Mississippi was elected to U.S. Senate for a full term. Hiram M. Revels also represented that state as senator.

1875 Representatives of 12 Black newspapers met in Cincinnati, August 4, to explore ways and means to sustain the Black press and to encourage a greater number of readers. (Herbert Aptheker, ed., *A Documentary History of the Negro People in the United States*, vol. 2, pp. 643-44)

James Augustine Healy became the first Black Catholic bishop.

1876 The art works of Edmonia Lewis were shown at the Philadelphia Centennial Exposition. (For more information about Lewis, see *The Black American Reference Book*, 1976)

Edward S. Bouchet received a Ph.D. in physics from Yale, the first African American to be awarded a doctorate in the U.S.

South Carolina rice workers went on strike against payment of wages in scrip redeemable only in company stores, a practice supposedly prohibited by law.

Edmonia Lewis

1879 Thousands of Black people fled the terror, peonage, disfranchisement, and lack of educational facilities in Louisiana and elsewhere. In spite of these difficulties, Black organizational activities continued as five new Black colleges, six newspapers, and various political, economic, social, and professional groups were established (Herbert Aptheker, ed., *A Documentary History of the Negro People in the United States*, vol. 2, pp. 645-49 and pp. 713-23)

1882 In October, 1882, a state convention of 50 Rhode Island Negroes representing 7,000 Negroes in that state met in Newport. They expressed a very critical attitude toward the Republican Party and indicated a desire to support the best representative regardless of party. (Herbert Aptheker, ed., *A Documentary History of the Negro People in the United States*, vol. 2, p. 685)

1883 A Civil Rights Mass Meeting was held at Lincoln Hall, October 22, Washington D.C., to build civil rights organizations throughout the country for the purpose of securing all citizenship rights. (Herbert Aptheker, ed., *A Documentary History of the Negro People in the United States*, vol. 2, pp. 658-59)

The death of Sojourner Truth ended a lifetime struggle for emancipation and women's rights. "The man over there says women need to be helped into carriages and lifted over ditches, and to have the best places everywhere," she declared. "Nobody ever helps me into carriages or over puddles, or gives me the best place—and ain't I a woman? I could work as much and eat as much as a man—when I could get it—and bear the lash as well! And ain't I a woman? I have borne thirteen children, and seen most of 'em sold into slavery, and when I cried out with my mother's grief, none but Jesus heard me—and ain't I woman?" (Lucy Komisar, *The New Feminism*, p. 89)

1884 Granville T. Woods received a patent on a telephone transmitter. He also obtained patents on a railway telegraphy system (1887) and an automatic air brake (1902).

Ida B. Wells successfully sued the Chesapeake and Ohio Railroad for Jim Crow treatment. This incident began her life-long crusade for justice. (Alfreda Duster, ed., *Crusade for Justice: Autobiography of Ida B. Wells*).

Former Black Reconstruction Congressman John Roy Lynch was elected temporary chairman of the Republican convention in Washington, D.C., the first Black to preside over a national political gathering. (*The Negro Almanac*, 1976, p. 21)

1885 Thirty-eight Negro leaders issued a call for a conference on industrial schools to be held at New Orleans, January 15. (Herbert Aptheker, ed., *A Documentary History of the Negro People in the United States*, vol. 2, pp. 650-51)

1886 The North Carolina Teachers' Association reported on the necessity for a sound education for all citizens. They gave their support to the work of Senator Henry W. Blair in his attempt to get the national government to appropriate money for the education of illiterate youth and finally recommended uniform examination standards and salaries.

1887 Formation of the first Black baseball team, the Union Giants, in Chicago.

On October 24, 9,000 Louisiana Negroes and 1,000 white workers from the Knights of Labor District Assembly 194, representing the sugar workers of four parishes, went on strike for higher wages. Governor McEnery, enraged at Black-white cooperation ("God Almighty has himself drawn the color line") called in the militia, who killed and wounded nine Negro strikers. Armed whites drove others from their homes, killing about 30. Two strikers who had been jailed, George and Henry Cox, were taken from their cells and lynched The strike was successful on only a few of the plantations. The national leadership of the Knights of Labor took little interest in the strike or in the violence against Black workers. (Philip S. Foner, *Organized Labor and the Black Worker*, pp. 60-61)

A study done by W.E.B. Du Bois showed that 43 national unions in both Northern and Southern states had no Black members. Twenty-seven others had almost none because they barred Negro apprentices.

The Mutual United Brotherhood of Liberty condemned the many legal injustices that Negroes had to face daily.

The Georgia Consultation Convention met on November 24, in Macon and condemned the chain-gang and penitentiary system of Georgia, criticized the tiny financial appropriation to Atlanta University, and strongly condemned lynch law. In addition, they drew up plans for the formation of the Union Brotherhood of Georgia.

1889 Frederick Douglass was appointed United States minister to Haiti.

1890 By the beginning of the 1890s, there were 154 Black newspapers.

Bishop Henry McNeal Turner, a former Georgia legislator, saw no hope for reforming white America and turned to African emigration. (Edwin S. Redkey, *Black Exodus: Black Nationalist and Back-to-Africa Movements, 1890-1910*, pp. 24-46).

The Mississippi Constitutional Convention began the systematic exclusion of Blacks from the political arena by adopting literacy and other complex "understanding" tests as prerequisites to voting. Seven other states followed suit by 1910. (*The Negro Almanac*, 1976, p. 21)

On January 15-17, in Chicago, the African-American League was founded. It condemned disfranchisement of Negro people in the South, lynch law, unequal distribution of school funds, the chain-gang penal system, various forms of segregation, and low wages. Proposals were made to remedy these problems. (Herbert Aptheker, ed., *A Documentary History of the Negro People in the United States*, vol. 2, pp. 691-708)

1892 New Orleans experienced a remarkable display of racial unity as 25,000 white and Black workers, representing 40 different AFL unions, paralyzed the city with a four-day general strike. "With one fell swoop," exclaimed the astonished Samuel Gompers, "the economic barrier of color was broken down." The Sherman Antitrust Act was first invoked against organized labor in this southern effort. Eight years later biracial solidarity had been so shattered in New Orleans that Negro unions were refused admission to the Central Labor Council of the American Federation of Labor and were forced to create a segregated council for themselves. (Otto H. Olsen, *The Thin Disguise*, pp. 22-23)

1894 Mary Church Terrell was the first Black woman to serve on a Board of Education in the United States. She was one of three women appointed to the Board in Washington, D.C.

1895 Frederick Douglass died.

1896 Mary Church Terrell was the first president of the National Association of Colored Women.

William Edward Burghardt Du Bois published the Harvard Historical Series No. 1, *The Suppression of the African Slave Trade to the United States of America*. This was the first of 35 volumes of African and African-American history written or edited by W.E.B. Du Bois.

W. E. B. Du Bois

The National League of Colored Women and the National Federation of Colored Women combined to form the National Association of Colored Women. They organized to fight against all forms of discrimination, violence, and disfranchisement—especially as it related to women's suffrage rights. (Herbert Aptheker, *A Documentary History of the Negro People in the United States: From the Reconstruction Years to the Founding of the N.A.A.C.P. in 1910*, p. 887)

1897 A. J. Beard invented the automatic railroad car coupling.

1898 The African-American Labor and Protective Association of Birmingham opposed the recruiting of Negro strike-breakers for the Chicago-Virden Company in its struggle with the United Mine Workers, but labor agents began to recruit the Blacks over its opposition. When the recruited miners arrived and learned that a strike was in effect, they "complained that they had been deceived by the operators, and most of them refused to work. Deputies stationed on the grounds were charged with threatening to shoot Negroes who attempted to leave." (Philip S. Foner, *Organized Labor and the Black Worker*, p. 77)

The Populist Movement
1886-1900

During the Civil War and Reconstruction Period it was the rising northern industrial class that initially endorsed Black voting as a means of securing Republican rule in the South and in the nation. They endorsed elements of progressive programs—the ballot, property rights, wage labor, and education—programs pushed for and led by Black people themselves—programs that had been denied under slavery.

After 1877 huge timber and mineral areas were opened along with railroad expansion and real estate operations. These new centers of capital power joined with the predominantly white-owned plantation economy in opposing the progressive movements in the South. This development formed the basis of the 1876 Compromise—the election of Hayes and the withdrawal of federal troops from the South—thus opening the door to massive, organized violence against those supporting Reconstruction governments.

But popular opposition to the new capital-industrial structure continued to grow in what was known as the Populist Movement, an outgrowth of the farmers' organizations, which also included industrial workers. Among the most important components of the Populist Movement were the various Colored Farmers' Alliances with organizations in 20 states, which had 1,250,000 members including 300,000 women. Other important Black organizations of that period were the Farmers' Mutual Benefit Association and the Southern Alliance. They elected members to a vast number of local and state offices and became a real threat to the planter-industrial rule.

Although racism eventually became a major weapon in the breaking up of the Reconstruction and Populist coalitions, racism itself was not a self-generated, inherent force among the rank-and-file of white people (although certainly there was a carry-over of racism from the slave period). It was not the poor whites who were threatened by popular movements; in fact, they were part of them. It was the developing corporate structure that was being challenged. And it is out of this context that segregation and disfranchisement laws became the weapons that were used against both Blacks and poor whites. The segregation law legalized by the Supreme Court in 1896 (reversed in 1954) made it illegal for Blacks and whites to work together in all areas of their lives, while the disfranchisement laws (called "state's rights") made it impossible for millions to use the ballot to change those laws. Thus, disfranchisement and enforced separation on the basis of color are to be seen as forms of "racial" and class controls—both had identical roots. In this manner political action by the working people was destroyed. Where this kind of "legal" action was not effective enough, extensive Klan violence became common. It was in this environment, without legal or political rights, that southern rural Blacks and many poor whites entered the twentieth century.

Consequently, it was the entire pattern of social and economic forces to which African Americans responded, not just racial oppression.

All this had a direct impact on the many forms of Black struggle and the search for solutions, be it the accommodation program of Booker T. Washington, the nationalist's back-to-Africa theme, or the struggle for "manhood rights" as exemplified by Du Bois. And although some of them appear to have been racial struggles, there were many economic, legal, and political struggles as well.

The "Booker T. Washington Period" 1895-1915

Essential to the development of the South and West by banking and industrial interests was control of the working section of the population. To this end, violent racism was one means of subjugation.

Complementing this was the use of charity and paternalism. This method of control was favored by a group of millionaire bankers and industrialists who were behind the financing of Tuskegee College, headed by Booker T. Washington. Noted for his work in education, Washington felt that close ties with the "better class" of whites, rather than open struggle against racism, would lead to a solution of the problems faced by Black America.

When he spoke at the Atlanta Cotton Exposition in 1895, he was widely hailed by most of the white press for his remarks. He stated: "In all things that are purely social we can be as separate as the fingers . . . The wisest of my race understand that the agitation of questions of social equality is extremist folly . . . ." (Booker T. Washington, *Up From Slavery*, p. 221).

Funding his school were such millionaire financiers, industrialists, and philanthropists as Jacob Schiff, William H. Baldwin (president of the Long Island Railroad), J.G. Phelps Stokes, George Foster Peabody, Robert C. Ogden, Andrew Carnegie, Lyman Abbott (former editor of Harper's), Henry Clews, and members of the Southern "aristocracy"—J.L.M. Curry of Alabama, John M. Parker of Louisiana, Alfred H. Stone of Mississippi, and Henry Watterson of Kentucky (Herbert Aptheker, *Afro-American History: The Modern Era*, pp. 118-58)

In criticism of Washington's policies, W.E.B. Du Bois stated, ". . . [M]anly self-respect is worth more than lands and houses, and that a people who voluntarily surrender such respect, or cease striving for it, are not worth civilizing.

"In answer to this, it has been claimed that the Negro can survive only through submission. Mr. Washington distinctly asks that black people give up, at least for the present, three things—First political power. Second, insistence on civil rights. Third, higher education of Negro youth . . . . As a result of this tender of the palmbranch, what has been the return? In these years there have occurred: 1. The disfranchisement of the Negro. 2. The legal creation of a distinct status of civil inferiority for the Negro. 3. The steady withdrawal of aid from institutions for the higher training of the Negro . . . . The question then comes: Is it possible, and probable, that nine million men can make effective progress in economic lines if they are deprived of political rights, made a servile caste, and allowed only the most meager chance for developing their exceptional men?" (W.E.B. Du Bois, *The Souls of Black Folk*, pp. 41-59).

Whatever the pragmatic advantages of Washington's program may have been, his widely publicized speech constituted a convenient mandate for Jim Crow shortly before it received the Supreme Court's blessing. (Otto H. Olsen, *The Thin Disguise*, (*Plessy* v. *Ferguson*) pp. 24-5)

This was the period when Jim Crow laws nullified all the gains of Reconstruction. Through various unconstitutional gimmicks almost all voting rights were lost. Enforced segregation became the tool for dividing Black and white workers and farmers.

(Judith Stein, "Of Mr. Booker T. Washington and Others: The Political Economy of Racism in the United States," *Science & Society*, Volume 38, #4; Rayford W. Logan, *The Betrayal of the Negro*; C. Vann Woodward, *The Strange Career of Jim Crow*; Herbert Aptheker, "Peonage and Antipeonage to World War II," in *African-American History: The Modern Era*; Allen W. Trelease, *White Terror: The KKK Conspiracy and Southern Reconstruction*; James S. Allen, *Reconstruction: The Battle for Democracy, 1865-1876*)

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1896 The Supreme Court issued its *Plessy* v. *Ferguson* decision. In upholding the separatist laws, the court denied that Jim Crow was oppressive. The decision denied the possibility of establishing social mores by legislation, even though that was the entire intent of the Jim Crow laws. Because of the demands of white supremacy, individuals could no longer function freely and were forcefully separated by color. Everything became separated, from telephone booths to graveyards for pets. (Otto H. Olsen, "Introduction," in *The Thin Disguise (Plessy* v. *Ferguson*))

These Jim Crow laws coincided with the appearance of American monopolies of the Rockefellers, Carnegies, Armours, and Morgans, especially with the Spanish-American War when American imperialism came on the scene. Following the emergence of American imperialism and closely connected, were historical works by Columbia scholars John W. Burgess and William Dunning, whose writings on Reconstruction portrayed Black people as childlike and savage. Historian James Ford Rhodes painted the same picture. In so far as these works became the accepted version of history, a racist interpretation of events was continued in later textbooks. (Carter G. Woodson, ed., "Historian on Reconstruction," *Journal of Negro History*, Vol. 23, January 1938, pp. 16-34)

1898 American expansion continued with increased and continuing rapidity and was accompanied by the growth of huge personal fortunes; the development of monopolies and overseas investments; the forceful appropriation of Cuba, the Philippines, Guam, Puerto Rico, and Hawaii—all of which interlocked with the intensified segregation of African-Americans.

In the conquest of the Philippines, racist feelings led to a wanton slaughter of the people. Stated a volunteer from the State of Washington, "Our fighting blood was up and we all wanted to kill 'n——rs' . . . ." (Daniel B. Schirmer, *Republic or Empire; American Resistance to the Philippine War*, p. 142. Also see Philip S. Foner, *The Spanish-Cuban-American War and the Birth of American Imperialism*, 2 vols.)

Said Moorfield Storey, who became first president of the NAACP, "Our Philippine policy is wrong. I feel that it is also responsible for the reaction at home against the Negroes."

After gaining control of the Virgin Islands (90 percent Black), the United States instituted military control from 1917 to 1931. American Marines occupied the Dominican Republic from 1916 to 1924 and Haiti from 1917 to 1934. Economic and political control were maintained thereafter with the Marines being used as needed. (Jack Woddis, *An Introduction to Neo-Colonialism*, p. 45)

1898 Addition of a "grandfather clause" to the Louisiana state constitution enabled poor whites to qualify for the franchise, while curtailing Black registration. In 1896, there were over 130,000 Black voters on the Louisiana rolls. Four years later, the number was about 5,000. (*The Negro Almanac*, 1976, p. 23)

1899 W.E.B. Du Bois published the *Philadelphia Negro: A Social Study.*

1900-1910 Although Samuel Gompers and the American Federation of Labor in its early days spoke strongly of the need to organize and work with Black Labor, by the early 1900s Gompers had become racist. He gave vigorous assistance to Congress when it passed the notorious Chinese Exclusion Act. At his insistence, the 1904 AFL National Convention passed a resolution calling for the Chinese Exclusion Act to be amended to include Japanese and Koreans.

In 1906, when the Industrial Workers of the World organized the Japanese and Chinese in the lumber camps, Gompers instructed the Rock Springs Local to exclude all Asians. The AFL also spearheaded the movement for more stringent legislation restricting immigration to the "right" people. Gompers, in his autobiography wrote: "That was a day before there was a general understanding of the principle that the maintenance of the nation depended upon the maintenance of racial purity and strength." (Philip S. Foner, *Organized Labor and the Black Worker*, pp. 249-50)

1900 Alexander Walters, bishop of the A.M.E.Z. Church, presided over the first Pan-African Congress, held in London. Secretary of the Congress was W.E.B. Du Bois. (Herbert Aptheker, ed., *A Documentary History of the Negro People in the United States: 1910-1932*, p. 179)

1900-1940. Although Congress had specifically outlawed peonage in 1867, the evil had not been abolished in practice. There were few prosecutions against the southern planters, yet the Georgia (white) Baptist convention, held in Augusta on November 11, 1939, stated, "Peonage or debt slavery has by no means disappeared from our land. There are more white people affected by this diabolical practice than were slaveholders; there are more Negroes held by these debt slavers than were actually owned as slaves before the war between the states." (Herbert Aptheker, *Afro-American History: The Modern Era*, p. 192)

1902 Former slave Susie King Taylor wrote her *Reminiscences of My Life in Camp*. She had been a Civil War nurse, teacher, and cook.

1903 W.E.B. Du Bois published *Souls of Black Folk*.

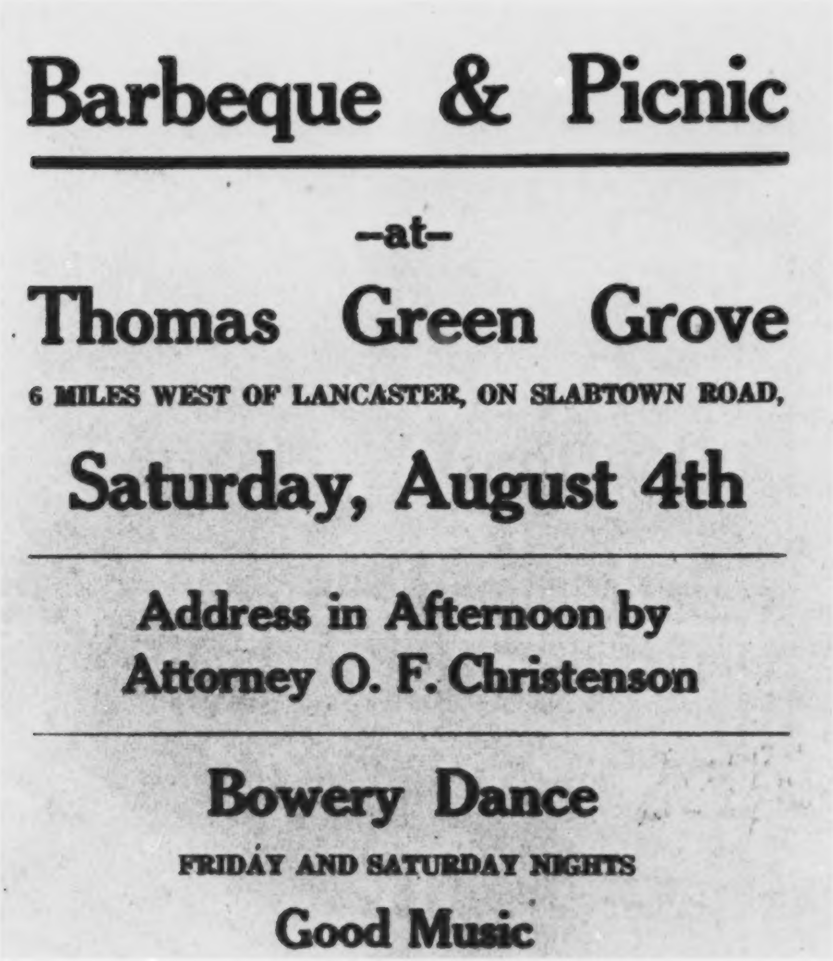
The National Association of Afro-American Steam and Gas Engineers and Skilled Laborers was founded. This association became important in Pittsburgh.

1905 The Niagara Movement was formed with W.E.B. Du Bois as the primary leader. The aim, according to Du Bois, was to reject paternalism, inferiority, and charity and to fight for the full manhood of Black people the world over. (Herbert Aptheker, *Afro-American History: The Modern Era*, pp. 127-58)

Other organizations of the period included: The National Afro-American League; The National Association of Colored Women, 1893; American Negro Academy, 1897; The Negro Businessmen's League, 1900; The Boston Guardian Newspaper, 1901; Voice of the Negro (Atlanta), 1904; Chicago Defender, 1905.

1906 In Atlanta, white mobs took to the streets and slaughtered Black people, looting and burning their homes. In Brownsville, Texas, that same year, President Theodore Roosevelt dismissed an entire Black batallion of the 25th Regiment after they had defended themselves from a white mob. In 1973, a surviving soldier of the batallion won an honorable discharge. (*Wisconsin State Journal* and *The Capital Times*, February 12, 1973; *Baltimore Afro-American*, February 17, 1973)

The Autumn Leaf Club, a social and self-help organization, was granted a charter in 1906. Located in Lancaster, Wisconsin, 80 miles southwest of



Barbeque & Picnic

—at—

Thomas Green Grove

6 MILES WEST OF LANCASTER, ON SLABTOWN ROAD,

Saturday, August 4th

Address in Afternoon by
Attorney O. F. Christenson

Bowery Dance

FRIDAY AND SATURDAY NIGHTS

Good Music

Poster for a picnic sponsored by the Autumn Leaf Club in 1917

Madison, about 200 Negro people worked and farmed and had small businesses in this area. Today this community has more or less disappeared owing to death, migration, and intermarriage. (For more information, see Zachary Cooper's *Black Settlers in Rural Wisconsin* and *Coming Together, Coming Apart*, a teacher's guide and videotape)

Lucian H. Palmer was the first Black man elected to the Wisconsin Assembly. (*The Capital Times*, January 2, 1973)

1907 Nat Love, a Black cowboy better known as "Deadwood Dick," published his autobiography, *Life and Adventures of Nat Love*.

1908 An anti-Negro riot took place in Springfield, Illinois, when a white woman admitted before a grand jury that she had falsely accused a Black man of rape. A white mob nevertheless went on a rampage—killing, burning homes, and looting. The white leaders were not punished. (John Hope Franklin, *From Slavery to Freedom*, p. 443)

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

1909 On April 6 Matthew Henson was the first man to reach the North Pole. (Bradley Robinson and Matthew Henson, *Dark Companion*)

1909-1910 The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) was founded. Its purposes were recorded: "To promote equality of rights and eradicate caste or race prejudice among the citizens of the United States; to advance the interest of the colored citizens; to secure for them impartial suffrage; and to increase their opportunities for securing justice in the courts, education for their children, employment according to their ability, and complete equality before the law."

1910 The National Urban League was founded.

1911 NAACP reported 71 known and documented lynchings.

1913 Nobel Drew Ali founded the first Moorish-American Science Temple.

1914 Ida B. Wells, fearless crusader against lynching, founded the Alpha Suffrage Club in Chicago in order to organize women to campaign among Black men to vote in favor of women's suffrage.

1915 In 1915, the U. S. Supreme Court declared the "grandfather clause" unconstitutional. (see 1898)

NAACP reported 80 more lynchings: "A typical year."

The Association for the Study of Negro Life and History was founded by Dr. Carter G. Woodson. Woodson, son of Virginia slaves, earned his Ph.D. at Harvard. He contributed greatly to research, writing, and publishing of African-American history. The following year Dr. Woodson founded the Associated Publishers as well as the *Journal of Negro History*. In his lifetime, he wrote or co-authored several dozen volumes of Black history.

World War I

Woodrow Wilson had seemed to some African-Americans a hopeful figure, but shortly after his inauguration segregation was reintroduced in Washington.

In the armed services, even overseas, discrimination was everywhere, though African-Americans in Europe fought gallantly.

At home Blacks rushed to industrial communities in the North, and many worked in defense plants, meat-packing works, automobile factories, and shipbuilding yards.

A series of riots arose from the hostility of northern white workers to the newcomers. The Ku Klux Klan was revived and, along with other groups, was terrorizing African-Americans. More than 70 Blacks were lynched during the first year of the postwar period, including ten Black soldiers, some still in uniform. African-Americans demonstrated that they were as willing to fight for their own cause at home as they had been for democracy abroad.

1916 The Amenia Conference, composed of 50 Black men and women and three whites, was called on August 24, at Amenia, New York, for the purpose of dealing with all aspects of racial discrimination. (Herbert Aptheker, *A Documentary History of the Negro People in the United State: 1910-1932*, pp. 488-93)

Despair and hopelessness in racist America led to a form of "Negro Zionism" and Black pride in the Universal Negro Improvement Association of Marcus Garvey. Although this was one of the first real mass movements of Black Americans, Black separatism and "Back to Africa" themes doomed this program to failure because it did not attack the major evils of segregation and exploitation. (John Hope Franklin, *From Slavery to Freedom*, p. 492)

1917 With the onset of World War I, President Wilson abolished most jobs that Black people held in the federal government. There were 66 lynchings reported in 1916, 44 in 1917. That year (July 1-3) in East St. Louis, Illinois, white mobs murdered 125 Black people and destroyed 300 homes (Elliott M. Rudwick, *Race Riot at East St. Louis, July 2, 1917*).

When Black soldiers in Houston, Texas, defended themselves against a lynch mob, 99 found themselves sentenced to prison, and 13 were hanged.

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About 200,000 Black American soldiers, sent to France to fight in the war, were segregated by the American Army abroad as they had been in the United States. (For a detailed accounting of lynchings over the years, see Ralph Ginzburg, *100 Years of Lynchings*; William L. Patterson, ed., *We Charge Genocide*; and Rayford W. Logan, *The Betrayal of the Negro*)

On July 28 a silent protest parade was held against the lynchings of Blacks. Thousands of New Yorkers marched, bearing banners saying, "Mr. President, why not make America safe for democracy?," "Give me a chance to live," and "Thou shalt not kill." (Langston Hughes and Milton Meltzer, *Pictorial History of the Negro in America*, p. 267)

In July the formation of a Black federation of labor was attempted when the Colored Employees of America (CEA) was formed in New York City. A. Philip Randolph and Chandler Owens, Black socialists, organized the Elevator Operators and Starters Union. This organization put forth demands for an eight-hour day, weekly pay, and a minimum wage of $13.

The Crusader, a "revolutionary secret order," was founded by Cyril Briggs, Richard B. Moore, Otto Hall, Otto Huiswood, and other West Indians who had left the Harlem Socialist Party. They wanted a stronger program against colonialism and "absolute race equality, political, economic and social . . . fellowship within the darker masses and the class-conscious revolutionary white workers." (Philip S. Foner, *Organized Labor and the Black Worker*, pp. 148-49)

1918 The National Liberty Congress, under the leadership of William Monroe Trotter, met in June, in Washington, D.C. Eighty-one people petitioned the House of Representatives asking for the abolition of segregation in all places of public accommodation and in federal buildings. They asked for equality in federal job ratings and promotions; in eating, recreation, education, and health facilities; and in voting rights. They also asked for protection from mob murder and for protection in the courts. (Herbert Aptheker, *A Documentary History of the Negro People in the United States: 1910-1932*, pp. 215-18).

Hugh Mulzac was the first Black man to win a shipmaster's license, but he was not allowed to take charge of a ship until 1942. (Hugh Mulzac, *A Star to Steer By*)

1919 The National Association of Negro Musicians had their first meeting in Chicago. In four years their membership was more than 1,000.

The National Brotherhood of Workers of America was formed to help bring Black workers into the trade union movement and to fight against discrimination by white organized labor. Delegates came from 12 states and the District of Columbia. (Philip S. Foner, *Organized Labor and the Black Worker*, pp. 151, 161)

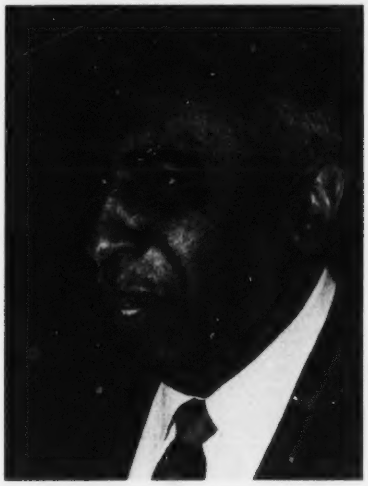
W.E.B. Du Bois was primarily instrumental in the organization of the Pan-African Congress which met in Paris on February 19-21. The major aims of the congress were to demand basic human rights for the peoples of Africa and equitable representation in all the international institutions of the League of Nations. (Herbert Aptheker, *A Documentary History of the Negro People in the United States: 1910-1932*, pp. 248-52)

Colonized Africa was redivided following World War I, but the newly emerging African liberation movements forced the European powers to use less blatant methods of dividing up the spoils. The German colonies were "mandated" to South Africa and others, but colonialism as a system remained fundamentally unchanged.

During the Great Steel Strike, the commission of Inquiry of the Interchurch Work Movement noted that the steel companies imported Black workers and shifted them from plant to plant, pitting them against white workers. Failure to organize Black labor was the fault of racist whites, but Black labor got the blame for strikebreaking. (William Z. Foster, *Negro People in American History*, pp. 438-39)

The Harlem Renaissance

The Harlem Renaissance, as it later became known, was a period of renewed cultural and protest expansion centered in Harlem, in the 1920s and 1930s, but which included Chicago and other areas of the country. There were historians, poets, novelists, musicians, and actors exemplified by such men and women as Countee Cullen, Claude McKay, Noble Sissle, Paul Robeson, Duke Ellington, Alain Locke, Paul Laurence Dunbar, Bessie Smith, James Weldon Johnson, Jean Toomer, Langston Hughes, Jessie Faucett, E. Franklin Frazier, Benjamin Brawley, Charles Wesley, Carter Woodson, and many others. The protest theme common to the Harlem Renaissance was summed up by Claude McKay in 1919, "If we must die, let it not be like hogs . . . Like men we'll face the murderous, cowardly pack. Pressed to the wall, dying, but fighting back . . . ." (Arna Bontemps, *American Negro Poetry*, p. 31)



Arna Bontemps

1920 The National Association for the Promotion of Labor Unionism among Negroes was founded.

That same year in New York the Friends of Negro Freedom was founded to unionize migrants, protect tenants, and establish educational forums.

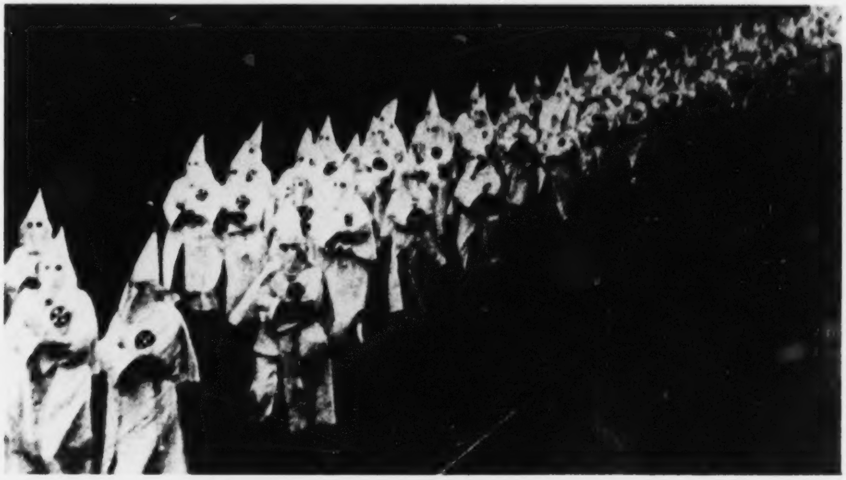
1921 The American Trades Council was formed in Chicago.

Andrew (Rube) Foster organized the Negro National (baseball) League.

At the AFL Convention, Black delegates were not permitted to present resolutions condemning the activities of the KKK. The *New York Call* declared: "It was the duty of the convention not only to consider the resolutions of the Negro delegates, but to enlarge them to automatically exclude from membership any worker who holds membership in the KKK. It was an opportunity to draw the line on this matter, not alone in the interest of Negro workers, but as a matter of self-protection for all the organized workers . . . ." (Phillip S. Foner, *Organized Labor and the Black Worker*, p. 166)

1923 Garrett A. Morgan invented the traffic signal.

1924 Horace Mann Bond, writing in the NAACP's *Crisis* magazine in June, exposed the racist use of intelligence testing, a gimmick designed to "prove" Black inferiority.



The Ku Klux Klan marched in Madison, Wisconsin.

1925 A. Philip Randolph organized the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

The American Negro Labor Congress was founded in October in Chicago with 32 Black men and women and one Mexican American. They represented trade unions, women's organizations, political groups, and African student organizations. Their manifesto supported the struggle of people in exploited colonies of the world, especially those in African liberation movements. (Herbert Aptheker, *A Documentary History of the Negro People in the United State: 1910-1932*, pp. 488-93)

1926 Negro History Week was founded by Dr. Carter G. Woodson and the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History for the purpose of teaching Americans about "neglected history."

1928 Oscar de Priest was elected to Congress from Chicago. He was the first Black congressman since 1901.

The Great Depression

In the period following the war African-Americans made some employment gains in heavy industry, food and clothing, transportation, and communications, but found little employment in southern textile manufacturing.

The American Federation of Labor and the railroad unions increasingly barred Black workers from membership and employment opportunities, and in some instances Black workers were forcefully and violently driven from their jobs, with a few cases resulting in death. This continuing hostility drove Black workers to build their own labor organizations.

Black businesses, while increasing in number and in social and political importance, continued to fall behind in relation to white businesses.

Even before the Great Depression, which had its beginnings in the October 1929 stock market crash, southern Black farm laborers were always in a state of poverty. They found themselves without jobs and were victims of land exploitation, soil erosion, poor crops, and foreign competition. Black land owners lost their farms by the tens of thousands.

After 1929 conditions became dramatically worse, and by 1934 at least 34 percent of all African-Americans were unable to find any kind of employment, while in some major cities as many as 80 percent needed public assistance in order to survive. Even in the distribution of free food, Black people were excluded by various religious and charitable organizations.

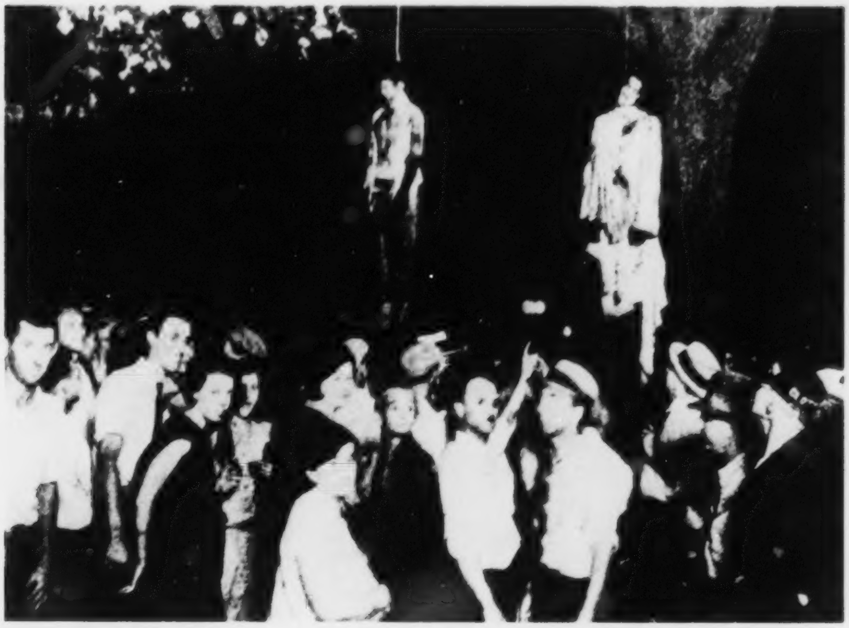
Struggles continued in all areas of African-American life including scores of legal challenges many of which were carried to the Supreme Court with successful outcomes.

1930s In many large cities, boycotts were organized against merchants who would not hire Black labor. Their slogan was, "Don't Buy Where You Can't Work."

1931 The Nation of Islam was founded. Commonly known as Black Muslims, members of the Nation of Islam seek a solution to the problems of racism by complete separation from whites. (C. Eric Lincoln, *The Black Muslims in America*)

In Scottsboro, Alabama, nine young men were charged with "rape" and sentenced to death. William L. Patterson and the International Labor Defense organized a protest and defense that was heard around the world. The death sentences were reversed. Ralph Grey, head of the Sharecroppers Union in Alabama, was lynched by a sheriff's posse at Camp Hill in Tallapoosa County, Alabama, after proposing a resolution in defense of the Scottsboro victims. By 1936, this organization had some 12,000 members. (Haywood Patterson and Earl Conrad, *Scottsboro Boy*)

Ida B. Wells died. Born a slave in 1862 in Holly Springs, Mississippi, she was nationally known for her struggle against lynching, writing her first pamphlet on that subject, "The Red Record," in 1895. She became the first president of the Negro Fellowship League in 1908. In 1915 she was elected



vice-president of the Chicago Equal Rights League. (Alfreda Duster, ed., *Crusade for Justice: Autobiography of Ida B. Wells*)

1930s This was a decade of organized struggle, not only among urban workers, but also among sharecroppers and tenant farmers. The Organization of the Sharecroppers Union was started in Alabama in 1931, and in the years that followed the Sharecroppers Union, the Southern Tenant Farmers Union, and the Farmers Union had organized more than 300,000 tenants and sharecroppers in the South. The Southern Conference on Human Welfare was organized in Birmingham, Alabama, on November 22-23, 1938, and it, too, was made up of Black and white tenants and sharecroppers.

1936 The founding convention of the National Negro Congress was held in Chicago on February 14-16, with 817 delegates representing 585 organizations that included 1.2 million people from 28 states. The president was A. Philip Randolph, and the secretary was John P. Davis.

1937 The Southern Negro Youth Congress held its founding meeting in February in Richmond, Virginia. Present were 534 delegates. Among their victories was the struggle to desegregate a Virginia bus company engaged in interstate commerce.

These organizations had many aims in common: the abolition of peonage; the struggle against lynchings, the Klan, and mob rule; the fight for ownership of the land, for the extension of credit, for the right to vote, for peace, and for jobs; the need for Black-white unity; and the special problems faced by Black women.

In January 1939, Reverend Owen H. Whitfield, a sharecropper, led hundreds of sharecroppers, mostly Black, in a sit-down strike. The United Cannery, Agricultural, Packing and Allied Workers of the CIO assisted in organizing the strike.

All the people in these organizations were victims of extensive intimidation and violence from landlords, the Klan, and the police. Many were killed, beaten, jailed, and/or driven from their jobs. (Raymond Wolters, *Negroes and the Great Depression*; Hosea Hudson, *Black Worker in the Deep South*; Theodore Rosengarten, *All God's Dangers: The Life of Nate Shaw*; Herbert Aptheker, *A Documentary History of the Negro People in the United States: From the Reconstruction Years to the Founding of the N.A.A.C.P. in 1910* and *1910-1932* and *1933-1945*); John Hope Franklin, *From Slavery to Freedom*)

1939 A 1916 Oklahoma law required all qualified, unregistered voters to register within a 12-day (April 30—May 11) period or forever be barred from the polls. In 1934, an African-American, I.W. Lane, having been refused registration, contended that the statute was unconstitutional. The United States Supreme Court on May 22 ruled that the statute was in conflict with the Fifteenth Amendment. (*The Negro Almanac*, first edition, pp. 197-212).

The New Deal and World War II

The Great Depression, beginning with the stock market crash of 1929, left an estimated 14 million people unemployed (the United States population in 1930 was one-half that of 1990) and was especially difficult for African-Americans. Legal segregation, racism, lynchings, and hard times were a daily part of life.

Black college students were often forced to drop out of school when funds from home dried up. Those in school faced racism on white campuses and the problem of paying tuition. For all students, Black and white, there was a new interest in international affairs with many showing great concern for the problems of war and fascism. Large demonstrations and strikes were becoming part of campus life.

Along with an almost total lack of legal and civil rights, the conditions of sharecroppers and tenant farmers was one of serfdom. This led to the organization of a number of agricultural unions whose main concerns were the fight for a living wage and against the illegal police arrests along with vigilante terrorism.

The founding convention of the National Negro Congress was held in Chicago in February 1936. This organization represented almost 600 organizations with a combined membership of 1.25 million from 28 states representing religious, fraternal, labor, educational, youth, women, and farm groups. The federation fought against social and economic repression, against the atrocities of the Klan and the police. They fought for full rights for Americans in the best tradition of Frederick Douglass, Harriet Tubman, Nat Turner, and Sojourner Truth.

The so-called "Black Cabinet" was a group of outstanding African-Americans who worked unofficially in Washington under President Roosevelt's "New Deal," acting as a "Black Brain Trust" of "racial advisors." Among them were the noted educator Mary McLeod Bethune and Dr. Robert C. Weaver, the first Black person to be appointed to a Cabinet post—that of Secretary of Housing and Urban Development under President Lyndon Johnson in 1966. Also of the "Black Cabinet" was Dr. Ralph Bunche, a recipient of the Nobel Peace Prize and the first Black American to be so honored. He was instrumental in helping to plan the United Nations. In 1955 he was appointed U.N. Undersecretary for Special Political Affairs.

Another notable of the "Black Cabinet" was William Henry Hastie, who, like Dr. Bunche, received his degree from Harvard. In 1946 President Truman appointed him governor of the Virgin Islands. During the war he protested the continued segregation of troops in the U.S. armed forces by resigning his post in the War Department. In 1949 he was the first African-American to be appointed a federal judge. Members of the "Black Cabinet" were instrumental in helping Black people get jobs in the federal government.

1932 Angelo Herndon, a Black Communist organizer, was arrested in Atlanta on a charge of "inciting insurrection" (organizing the unemployed). He was freed after a five-year battle during which hundreds of thousands of signatures were collected on his behalf. (Angelo Herndon, *Let Me Live*)

1934 Fifty-two percent of the Black people in the northern and border states were on relief (welfare).

1935 In Lowndes County, Alabama, six were killed in a sharecroppers' strike.

Fascist Italy invaded Ethiopia. Black Americans responded with material and financial assistance for this African nation.

The National Council of Negro Women was founded in recognition of the need for women to unite to deal with the problems confronting the Black community. The moving force and founder of this organization was Mary McLeod Bethune.

1936 The League of Struggle for Negro Rights merged with the National Negro Congress. It became an important base for the foundation of the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO).

The formation of the CIO carried on a prolonged struggle for industrial unionism and built organizations in the auto, steel, and electrical industries. The door was opened to Black membership, and in ten years the CIO had 500,000 Black members. Today the CIO is merged with the American Federation of labor (AFL), and much discrimination exists, especially in the crafts and in all positions of leadership.

1937 Dr. Carter Woodson and the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History began publication of the *Negro History Bulletin*.

1937-1939 In the Spanish Civil War, about 100 Black Americans enlisted in the International Brigades that fought in Spain against the German and Italian aggressors. Oliver Law and Walter Garland were Black officers who commanded almost all-white American military units for the first time in history. (Arthur H. Landis, *The Abraham Lincoln Brigade*, pp. 65, 72-3)

1938 The conviction and death sentence of Joe Hale in McCracken County, Kentucky, was struck down by the U. S. Supreme Court on the grounds that he had been denied equal protection. Hale pointed out that although one-sixth of the residents of the county were Black, there had not been a Black on jury duty for the period 1906 to 1936. This constituted a violation of the Fourteenth Amendment. ("The Legal Status of Black America," in *The Negro Almanac*, 1976)

1939 Senator Theodore Bilbo of Mississippi introduced a plan to colonize African-Americans back in Africa. (Langston Hughes and Milton Meltzer, *A Pictorial History of the Negro in America*, p. 268)

Jane J. Bolin was appointed judge of the Domestic Relations Court, the first Black woman judge in the United States. She also was the first Black woman to graduate from Yale Law School.

1940 The census placed Black's life expectancy at 51 years, white's at 62.

1940-1941 At the 1910 AFL Convention, the delegates turned down a resolution by A. Philip Randolph and Milton P. Webster to end racial discrimination in the Federation. Randolph continued his struggle at the 1941 convention pointing out that when white locals wanted to include Black workers, they were overruled by their International officers. (Phillip S. Foner, *Organized Labor and the Black Worker*, pp. 249-50)

1941 Although one million Black soldiers were drafted during World War II to fight against German and Italian fascism, the problems of obtaining democracy in the United States were not faced. Token integration occurred in the armed forces and on the industrial front. When A. Philip Randolph threatened to march 100,000 Black people in Washington, D.C., in protest, President Roosevelt issued his famous Executive Order 8802, prohibiting discrimination in defense industries. Nevertheless, Blacks were still the last hired and the first fired. Continued migrations of Black people from southern rural areas brought 30 percent of the Black population to 12 large cities.

1942 James Farmer formed the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE).

Willard S. Townsend of the United Transport Service Employees of America became the first Negro union leader on the national executive board of the CIO when his union was chartered in June. No Negro had ever served on the AFL executive board in 61 years of the federation's history. (Philip S. Foner, *Organized Labor and the Black Worker*, p. 256)

1943 On June 20 a three-day riot began against the Black people of Detroit in which 25 Black and nine white people were killed.

1944 Benjamin J. Davis was elected to the office of city councilman in New York City, the first Black Communist to be elected to a legislative office in the United States. (Benjamin J. Davis, *Communist Councilman from Harlem*)

The Post-World War II Era

With the ending of World War II, Black Americans who returned to their homes found things little changed. Segregation and racism, especially in the rural areas, remained as before, as did police violence—excessive use of force especially against the poor and minorities. It would be almost ten years before the United States Supreme Court would reverse the infamous Plessy verdict of 1896—the separate and so-called equal ruling that devastated so much of American life. Overseas, the status of the colonies remained unchanged, a fact that did not go unnoticed by African-Americans who saw a close tie between poverty, racism, and repression—at home and abroad.

To these problems was added the extremely repressive nature of the McCarthy period, when progressive organizations were silenced and their leaders hounded from public life or jailed. These included such notables as Paul Robeson, W.E.B. Du Bois, Africanist W.A. Hunton, and William L. Patterson (who had presented the historic document "We Charge Genocide" to the United Nations). With the later upsurge of the civil rights movement under Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., and his connecting that struggle with the peace movement, King continued in the great tradition of Frederick Douglass.

1945 With the end of World War II, Vietnam proclaimed independence. The Japanese had controlled this former French colony during the war. When the Japanese were disarmed by the British and Americans, the control of Vietnam was promptly returned to the French. This was the start of American involvement in Indo-China. Beginning with large-scale American involvement in Vietnam in the early 1960s, Black soldiers were used in large numbers in Indo-China, suffering an abnormally high death rate and segregation equal to any experienced in Mississippi. In time, many Black soldiers (white, too) found themselves in sympathy with the Vietnamese Liberation Movement.

1946 At the tenth anniversary meeting of the National Negro Congress, held in Detroit, Michigan, May 30 to June 2, the delegates voted to present a "Petition to the United Nations on Behalf of Thirteen Million Oppressed Negro Citizens of the United States of America," seeking the elimination of political, economic, and social discrimination against U.S. Negroes.

1949 Striking Negro farm workers charged their employer with "peonage." A warrant against the Mazo Farm Producers Company of Mazomanie, Wisconsin, charged that they "did unlawfully influence, induce, and persuade workmen to accept employment in this state and did bring such workmen from the vicinity of Elizabeth, N. C. into Dane County . . . by means of false and deceptive representations . . . ." After a 30-day strike, a contract was signed, the first of its kind in Wisconsin history. (*The Capital Times*, August 18, 19, 20, 22).

Attempts were made to assassinate Paul Robeson as he sang at Peekskill, New York. Hundreds of Black and white people were cut, beaten, and clubbed by members of the American Legion and state troopers. (Howard Fast, *Peekskill U. S. A.*)

1950 Black author Gwendolyn Brooks won the Pulitzer Prize in literature.

On June 10 Paul Robeson, addressing the National Labor Conference for Negro Rights, called attention to the fact that the Truman Administration was sending arms to the French government to be used against Vietnamese patriots. Four years later, Robeson asked, "Shall Negro sharecroppers from Mississippi be sent to shoot down brown-skin peasants in Vietnam?" (*Freedomways*, 1971, vol. 1, p. 122)

Ralph Bunche was named winner of the Nobel Peace Prize.

Gwendolyn Brooks

1950-1960 More Negro labor organizations, such as the American League of Colored Laborers in New York, were formed. These unions were formed as separate organizations out of necessity (as were Black churches, newspapers, and so forth), but they had a friendly spirit of cooperation with white workers.

1951 The historic petition "We Charge Genocide," edited by William L. Patterson, national executive secretary of the Civil Rights Congress, was presented to the General Assembly of the United Nations. It documented and protested genocide against Black people of the United States. Chronologically arranged from January 1945 to June 1951, it documented hundreds of murders, beatings, burnings, tortures, rapes, economic sanctions, and "legal" lynchings, including the electrocution of the Martinsville Seven in Richmond, Virginia.

1953 Hulan Jack was sworn in as borough president of Manhattan.

1954 The Supreme Court issued the historic decision on *Brown* v. *Board of Education* of Topeka, Kansas. As a result of a suit brought by the NAACP, the United States Supreme Court reversed the 1896 Plessy decision. It found that segregation is inherently unequal but set no time limit for schools to desegregate. As a result, segregationists were able to organize massive resistance and the inevitable violence that goes with it. Officials closed many schools to avoid integrating.

Having been converted to the Nation of Islam while in prison, Malcolm Little was sent to New York to head the Harlem Islamic movement. Under the new name of Malcolm X, he soon became a nationally prominent leader. But by 1964, internal differences within the Nation of Islam forced him out. After

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trips to Mecca, he established Muslim Mosque, Incorporated, and the Organization of Afro-American Unity. He wanted to internationalize the civil rights struggle by raising it to the level of a struggle for human rights. (Malcolm X, *Autobiography of Malcolm X*) On February 21, 1965, El-Hajj Malik El Shabazz (Malcolm X) was assassinated.

1955 Ralph Bunche was appointed United Nations Undersecretary for Special Political Affairs.

Marian Anderson was the first Black soloist at the New York Metropolitan Opera.

Mary McLeod Bethune died. She had founded Bethune-Cookman College in Daytona Beach, Florida, in 1904; founded the National Council of Negro Women in 1935; and was appointed director of the Division of Negro Affairs of the National Youth Administration. (Rackham Holt, *Mary McLeod Bethune*)

The Protest Era

1955 The December 1 arrest of Rosa Parks, for refusing to comply with the dehumanizing segregation laws of the Montgomery, Alabama, bus system, led to a massive boycott of the city buses. The boycott was led by the Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., and the Montgomery Improvement Association. The bus company, whose patrons were 70 percent Black, went bankrupt. The boycott officially ended on December 1, 1956, following a United States Supreme Court decision outlawing segregation of the Montgomery bus system. This was part of the nationwide desegregation movement that followed the Supreme Court decision of May 17, 1954, outlawing segregation in the nation's schools.

Martin Luther King, Jr.

Of the many organizations that continued the desegregation struggles were the Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), the Congress for Racial Equality (CORE), the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party (MFDP), the Organization of Afro-American Unity, the Black Panther Party, the Negro American Labor Council, the Southern Conference Education Fund (SCEF), and others.

1956 Autherine Lucy, a Black student, attempted to enter the University of Alabama. She faced organized violence and required a police escort. Because of the white rioting, she was suspended and then expelled.

1957 The first African nation to do so, Ghana achieved independence under Kwame Nkrumah, it became a leading force for African unity against colonialism. African-Americans took an increasingly greater interest in Africa and in African freedom and independence.

Nine Black children under the leadership of Daisy Bates attempted to integrate Central High School at Little Rock, Arkansas. They met with prolonged armed resistance organized by Governor Faubus. This was one more saga of Black perseverance and heroism. (Daisy Bates, *The Long Shadow of Little Rock* p. 61)

Congress enacted its first major civil rights legislation since 1886.

The Struggle of the 1960s

The 1960s was a decade of expanding protest, with "freedom rides," marches, demonstrations, voter registration campaigns, school boycotts, and other tactics designed for each situation. It was also a decade of violence against those who fought for their freedom.

Mrs. Fannie Lou Hamer

Notable among the freedom fighters was Fannie Lou Hamer. Born on October 6, 1917, she was the last of 20 children. As was the custom during that period of sharecropping, Black parents were paid $50 for each child born to them, merely a recognition that they were future fieldhands. Hamer began picking cotton at age six.

On August 31, 1962, with the aid of Reverend James Bevel of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), Hamer went to Indianola, the county seat, and attempted to register to vote. All Blacks (but not whites) were forced to take an "interpretation" test of the Mississippi constitution, which, predictably, Hamer failed. Thus, her first political activity occurred at age 44.

When Hamer refused to withdraw her name for voter registration, she was forcefully driven from her job on the plantation and from her home in which she had lived for 18 years. Her husband, however, was not allowed to leave. She miraculously escaped death when the house in which she had taken refuge was riddled by 16 rifle bullets. She felt "they can't kill me but once," and from that moment became a leading force in the civil rights movement. In June 1963, when returning from a voter registration conference in South Carolina, she was arrested by highway patrolmen in Winona, Mississippi, taken to jail, and brutally beaten into unconsciousness, suffering permanent injuries. A pregnant woman traveling with Hamer suffered a miscarriage as a result of a beating she received.

In 1964 the Mississippi Summer Project (voter registration) brought continued violence. From June to October, in the town of McComb, 17 churches, homes, and businesses were bombed (Justice Department figures). Four churches were also burned; 32 people were arrested, and four were beaten.

Because Black people were not allowed to participate in the regular Mississippi Democratic Party, Hamer helped found and became the vice-chairwoman of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party (MFDP) on April 26, 1964. At the National Democratic Convention in Atlantic City, New Jersey, that year, the MFDP was offered the compromise of at-large seats. Hamer refused this unacceptable offer.

In 1964 she also attempted to run for Congress in the Second Mississippi Congressional District but was not allowed on the ballot. The MFDP then conducted their own "Freedom Ballot" in which Hamer received 33,099 votes; her white opponent, Representative Jamie Whitten, got 49 votes.

On January 4, 1965, Hamer, along with Victoria Gray and Annie Devine, made an appeal to Congress in which they challenged the seats of the Mississippi delegation to the House of Representatives, all of which were occupied by whites. Their challenge was defeated 288-143; but at the Democratic Party Convention in 1968, Hamer and others were allowed to be officially seated.

In the spring of 1965, she walked with Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., on the famous march from Selma to Montgomery, Alabama.

Until her death from cancer on March 14, 1977, Hamer remained a central figure in the civil rights movement. She received many awards, including an honorary Doctorate of Humane Letters from Tougaloo College, honorary Doctorate of Humanities from Shaw University, honorary degrees from Columbia College and Howard University, the National Sojourner Truth Meritorious Service Award, the Mary Church Terrell Award from Delta Sigma Theta Incorporated, and the Paul Robeson Award from Alpha Kappa Alpha Fraternity.

Major financial assistance for Hamer's work came from Walk for Development; interested friends in Boston; and the Madison, Wisconsin, organization, Measure for Measure. (Information on Hamer was supplied by Martha B. Smith, one of the founders and president of Measure for Measure.)

Whites killed two Blacks as James Meredith attempted to enter the University of Mississippi (1961); the Sixteenth Street Baptist Church in Birmingham, Alabama, was bombed, killing four children; William L. Moore, white postal clerk from Baltimore, was shot to death in his one-man march (1963); Medgar Evers, NAACP leader of Jackson, Mississippi, was assassinated (1963); in Mississippi, Michael Schwerner, James Chaney, and Andrew Goodman were killed by the Klan police (1964); the 1964 Mississippi Summer Project, organized by SNCC, CORE, SCLC, and NAACP, suffered 1,000 arrests, 35 shootings, 30 bombings, and 35 church burnings as 100 people were beaten and six were murdered.

1960	The Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) was organized. "Tent cities" appeared as Blacks were evicted by white landlords for attempting to register to vote in Fayette County, Tennessee. The "sit-in" movement was launched by students attempting to integrate a Woolworth's lunch counter in Greensboro, North Carolina.
1962	The median income for white families was $5,570 and $2,908 for nonwhite (V.W. Henderson, *Labor Fact Book*, 1965, p. 71).
1963	Governor Wallace of Alabama declared, "I draw the line in the dust and toss the gauntlet before the feet of tyranny and I say segregation now, segregation tomorrow, segregation forever." (*The Negro Almanac*, 1976, p. 34) W.E.B. Du Bois died in Ghana, Africa, on August 22. On August 23, a quarter of a million people marched peacefully on Washington, D.C., to dramatize the Black demand for equality.
1964	The National Labor Relations Board ruled that the elimination of racial abuses in hiring practices constituted as valid a subject for collective bargaining as did higher pay and job security. The NLRB held that both unions and

employers had an affirmative obligation to oppose discrimination in hiring. (Herbert Hill, *Black Labor and the American Legal System*, pp. 133-34)

Uprisings by Black people no longer able to tolerate segregation, poverty, and policy brutality occurred in the following cities: Harlem (July); Brooklyn (July); Rochester (July); Jersey City (August); Patterson, New Jersey (August); Dismore, Illinois; and Philadelphia. In 1965, uprisings occurred in Watts, California; Chicago, and North Philadelphia. Rebellions continued in 1966 and 1967.

1965 The August issue of *Ebony* magazine defined racism as "The White Problem in America."

James M. Nabrit, Jr., was appointed ambassador to the United Nations on August 25.

1966 Edward Brooke, a Black Republican, was elected Senator from Massachusetts. He was one of the few Republicans to come out against continued United States involvement in Vietnam.

On January 26 Constance Baker Motley was appointed to the U.S. District Court for southern New York, the nation's first Negro to become a federal judge. In 1954 she became the first Negro woman to be elected to the New York State Senate. In 1965 she was elected to the position of Manhattan borough president. (*The Negro Almanac*, pp. 47, 764-65)

Huey P. Newton and Bobby G. Seale organized the Black Panther Party for self-defense. They immediately worked on community problems, opposing the Cultural Nationalists, who made no distinct between racist and nonracist whites and who believed that a Black man cannot be an enemy of Black people. (Philip S. Foner, ed., *The Black Panthers Speak*, and Gene Marine, *The Black Panthers*)

1967 On April 4, Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., spoke out on the Vietnam War, calling for a five-point program to (1) end the bombing; (2) declare a cease-fire; (3) stop the spread to other Indo-Chinese countries; (4) recognize the National Liberation Front; and (5) set a date for withdrawal. (Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., "A Time to Break Silence," reprinted in *Freedomways* magazine, 2nd quarter, 1967)

Poet Langston Hughes, one of America's most prolific Black writers, died on May 22.

On June 13 Thurgood Marshall was appointed associate justice of the United States Supreme Court.

Richard Hatcher was elected mayor of Gary, Indiana, and Carl Stokes was elected mayor of Cleveland, Ohio, on November 7.

On April 28 Muhammad Ali refused induction into the armed services and was subsequently stripped of his boxing title and not permitted to box in the United States. Ali, a Muslim minister, stated, "No, I am not going 10,000 miles to help murder and kill and burn other people simply to help continue the domination of white slavemasters over the dark people the world over. This is the day and age when such evil injustice must come to an end." (*Freedomways*, 1967, 2nd quarter).

On September 6 President Lyndon Johnson disclosed he would nominate Walter P. Washington to head the newly reorganized municipal government of Washington, D.C.

1968 On February 9 unarmed students attempted to desegregate a bowling alley in Orangeburg, South Carolina. According to an eyewitness reporter, the students were chased by the police who "fired a volley of shots from a knoll in front of the campus . . . . [T]roopers dragged two of the wounded about 20 yards across the grass campus and then down an embankment and out onto the sidewalk." Three students were killed, and 26 were wounded. (Michael Davis, *Afro-American*, February 17)

Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., was assassinated on April 4. Outbursts in 125 cities followed the news of King's death. Scores of people were killed, and thousands were wounded.

The Poor People's March to Washington, D.C., led by Reverend Ralph Abernathy, began in Memphis, Tennessee.

The Decade of the Seventies

The frustration of African-Americans in their struggles for greater social, political, and economic equality in the 1970s was symbolized by the calling of the National Black Political Convention in Gary, Indiana, in March 1972. The convention was determined to ignore party labels in supporting candidates.

Issues of these years included reform of prison conditions, in which Angela Davis became involved, and police brutality. Busing became a national political issue. Economically, African-Americans suffered disproportionately during the recession of the Seventies. The gap between the median income of Black families and that of white families widened, and the unemployment rate among Black male teenagers soared. "Reverse racism" became a way to continue racism in the decade, and relations between the races continued to be one of the most critical domestic problems.

1970

Attention was starting to focus on prison conditions. Black legislators found that racism was rampant in what were considered "reformed" California judicial and prison systems. Angela Davis became involved in exposing the racist nature of the "indeterminate sentence," in which a person would receive a one-year-to-life sentence for the smallest offense, as did "Soledad Brother" George Jackson. (Angela Davis, *If They Come in the Morning*) Jackson was accused in 1960 of robbing a filling station of $70. Said Jackson, "I accepted a deal—I agreed to confess and spare the county court costs in return for a light county jail sentence. I confessed, but when time came for sentencing, they tossed me into the penitentiary with one [year] to life." (*Soledad Brother: The Prison Letters of George Jackson*, p. 21)

On May 15, "a fusillade of police gunfire killed two Negro men and wounded 16 others, including six girls in front of a women's dormitory at predominantly Black Jackson State College. . . ." ("Police Guns Kill Two Black Students," *The Capital Times*, May 15).

On May 17 in Augusta, Georgia, police killed six Black men during a disturbance. According to the coroner's report all were shot in the back, one man nine times, one eight, one seven, one twice, and two once. (Bruce Galphin, "Blacks Slain in Augusta, Shot in Back," *The Capital Times*, May 20).

On October 1 a three-judge federal court convening in Buffalo declared void New York State's anti-busing law which made it illegal for appointed school boards to reshuffle pupil assignment plans for the purpose of achieving racial balance. The law had been copied by several southern school districts to forestall desegregation. Earlier, Governor Ronald Reagan had signed into

California law a bill prohibiting the busing of students "For any . . . reason without the written permission of the parent or guardian." (*The Negro Almanac*, 1976, p. 65)

On July 1 Kenneth Gibson became the first African-American mayor of Newark, New Jersey.

" 'Reverse racism' is now seen as a method to continue racist practices . . . a pretext to continue the protection of white privileges." (Celia Zitran, "Reverse Racism: The Great White Hoax," *Freedomways*, 1975, 3rd quarter, pp. 188-95)

Kenneth Gibson

1971

The opening of the 92nd U.S. Congress found 12 Black representatives, less than one-third of the 43 needed to equal the Black proportion of the population.

The February 6 issue of the Baltimore *Afro-American* newspaper contained a review of "All in the Family" by Whitney M. Young, Jr., who said the show should be taken off the air because it only succeeds in spreading the poison of bigotry and makes it, by repetition, more respectable. He criticized the "clever liberal writers for their anti-working attitudes" and stated, "Studies show . . . many of the upperclass men who control the racist institutions in our society are more deserving of exposure than workers, some of whom are used by racists to keep them from natural alliances with Black workers."

Whitney M. Young, Jr., executive director of the National Urban League, died in Lagos, Nigeria, on March 12.

On April 30 the Joint Center for Political Studies in Washington, D.C. reported that 1,960 Blacks held elective office in the United States; however, only three of every 1,000 officeholders in the U.S. were Black, while Blacks represented 12 percent of the population.

On August 21 George Jackson was killed in the San Quentin prison yard. Prison officials claimed Jackson was shot in an escape attempt. The August 28 *New York Times* stated, "A better reason for challenging official explanations in the San Quentin case is to get at the truth of George Jackson's life, not just the truth of his death. Whether or not he was shot while escaping or was in some way 'set up' for killing, his life was a real tragedy. It is indisputably an American tragedy."

On September 23 inhuman prison conditions, long suppressed from public notice, led to an uprising by Attica State Prison inmates in New York. The uprising was suppressed when Governor Rockefeller sent in 1,000 state troopers. Forty-two inmates and guards were killed, apparently by police force. ("Hostages Killed By Bullets, Not Knives. No Guns Held By Inmates," *The Capital Times*, September 24)

1972

The National Black Convention in Gary, Indiana, March 10-12, drew up a Black agenda to present to the political parties in the 1972 elections.

Busing developed into a nationwide political issue. Vernon E. Jordan, successor to Whitney Young as executive director of the National Urban League, pointed out that "only three percent of the children are bused to achieve integrated schools; that no attempt is made to achieve 'racial balance,' busing just one Black child to a white school achieves what they call a 'desegregated' school; that Black children spend more time on buses than white; that, in general, children now spend less time on buses than they did when they were bused to segregated schools." (Vernon E. Jordon, *Afro-American*, April 15).

Kwame Nkrumah, leading advocate of African unity and socialism, died April 27. Nkrumah was prime minister of Ghana, the first African state to achieve independence (March 6, 1957).

On May 22 the Supreme Court ruled that a unanimous jury verdict is unnecessary for conviction in non-federal cases. This decision was seen as especially affecting minority defendants, whose peers are seldom found on juries. The importance of unanimity is that when all members of a jury cannot agree as to guilt, then some reasonable doubt must exist.

The New York Times stated May 28, 1972, that less-than-unanimous jury verdicts could allow "prosecutors to win more convictions, especially in conspiracy prosecutions with political overtones where juries are often divided."

Angela Davis, Soledad Defense Committee member, found herself accused of murder, conspiracy, and kidnapping. Her case attracted worldwide attention. She spent more than one and one-half years in prison before receiving the right to bail, and she suffered great physical deterioration. The State of California spent nearly $1 million on the trial, but Davis was vindicated of all charges on June 5. She called this a victory for the people and asked her supporters to turn their attention to prison reforms, such as a minimum wage level, improved medical care, free access to literature, and the elimination of indeterminate sentences.

Angela Davis

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1973

The American Telephone and Telegraph Company settled a suit by the Federal Equal Opportunities Commission when it promised to pay $15 million in back wages to minorities and women. (*The Negro Almanac*, 1976, p. 65)

Minority students on all University of Wisconsin campuses totaled only 4,160 or 3.5 percent. (*Wisconsin State Journal*, February 4)

Dorsie W. Willis, Black soldier dishonorably discharged from the Army 66 years earlier by President Theodore Roosevelt, finally won a long fight to clear his name. He was the only soldier, still living, of 166 who had been discharged without a trial. (*Wisconsin State Journal*, February 12)

The income gap widened, as the median income for a Black family in 1973 was $7,270 compared with $12,600 for a white family. This report came from the United States Bureau of the Census. (*Wisconsin State Journal*, July 25)

Thomas Bradley was elected mayor of Los Angeles, bringing the total number of Black elected officials in the United States to 2,991, including 108 mayors.

1974

Joseph Thompson became Wisconsin's first Black postmaster. He had formerly been an officer of the Postal Clerks Union and had been elected to the Madison City Council in 1970, 1972, and 1974. In February 1974, he was sworn in as postmaster of Waupun, Wisconsin. (*The Capital Times*, February 28)

Edward Kennedy (Duke) Ellington, musical giant, composer of more than 1,000 compositions, died May 24. He was 75. His many works included orchestral pieces, operas, television and ballet scores, tone poems, sacred works, and much more. (*The Capital Times*, May 25)

Although the number of Black businesses has been increasing, the records for 1972 indicate (Census Bureau, Department of Commerce) that Blacks had only three-tenths of one percent of gross sales in the United States. (*Wisconsin State Journal*, December 11)

The sixth Pan-African Congress was held in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, in June.

In spite of a surface quietness, much racism continued to exist in Wisconsin. A group of Black students attending the University of Wisconsin at Richland Center were unable to get housing accommodations and were forced to sleep in the campus gymnasium. (*The Capital Times*, September 10)

1975

Elijah Muhammad, leader of the Black Muslims, died January 26, at age 77.

Several cross burnings in Madison, Wisconsin, indicated that racism was far from over. The victims charged that the school system was partly responsible because the curriculum was not yet free of racism. (*Capital Times*, April 17, 18, 21, 22, 23, and 29, and May 5 and 6)

On April 19 Percy I. Julian, distinguished scientist of Oak Park, Illinois, died. He held more than 130 chemical patents and was the first to synthesize cortisone drugs. In addition to having received honorary degrees from 12 colleges or universities, he was well-known for his work in civil rights.

Using a "hidden unemployment index" that it believed was more accurate than federal formulas, the National Urban League calculated Black unemployment at 25.8 percent for the first three months of 1975. (*The Capital Times*, June 10)

U.S. Judge James E. Doyle ruled July 11 that a section of the Wisconsin open housing law which prohibits anyone from "testing" or "checking" if discrimination had been practiced in renting or selling property is unconstitutional. (*The Capital Times*, June 11)

The House of Representatives completed legislative action on a measure that restored citizenship to Robert E. Lee, the Confederate general. "Marse Robert not only took up arms against his country, he led an army against it." (*The Capital Times*, July 23)

"Blacks are refused home loans more than twice as often as whites and their applications are rejected at a higher rate than those of any other racial or ethnic group," according to a study made by the Federal Home Loan Bank Board. (*The Capital Times*, August 20)

"Well over half of the total number of Black youth in the United States—1,650,000 16 to 19 years of age—cannot find jobs. Most of them do not even get counted in the Bureau of Labor Statistics monthly unemployment survey, which fails to include discouraged and part-time workers. More importantly, teenagers who never had jobs are not accounted for. By and large, unemployed Black youth are demoralized and degraded, and they know it. They know there is little they can do about it, and many know why. Living in the wealthiest, most technologically advanced society in history, condemned to urban ghettos, they already realize that their immediate challenge is to escape a fate devoid of opportunity, purpose and productivity." (Michigan Rep. John Conyers, Jr., *Freedomways*, 3rd Quarter, 1975, p. 153)

Black youth suffer from an educational system that gives Black communities the least qualified teachers and the worst equipped schools and then blames Black youngsters if their attainments lag behind pupils in the affluent suburbs. Thirty school buildings being used in the riot areas (Detroit, Michigan) had been dedicated during the presidential administration of Ulysses S. Grant. (William Lucy, international secretary-treasurer of the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees, *Freedomways*, 3rd Quarter, 1975, p. 162)

"The attempts to equalize job and financial inequities have been met with nothing but frustration. Seniority programs continue the 'last hired, first fired' tradition that Black workers have been facing for so long .... Similarly, affirmative action programs designed to end 'white only' hiring policies (to say nothing regarding the problems of women in the work force) are now being curtailed under the guise of 'reverse discrimination'." (William Raspberry, *The Capital Times*, February 21, 1975)

1976

Lester B. Granger, retired executive director of the National Urban League, died January 9 in Alexandria, La., at age 79. He was the league's director from 1941-61.

Paul Robeson died January 23. Born on April 9, 1889, he was termed by many a "giant among giants," an "unbending champion of human dignity," a "fighter for the working class, and an artist superb." (*Daily World*, Jan. 25; *Afro-American*, Jan. 31; *The Capital Times*, Feb. 5)

Marcia P. Coggs became the first African-American woman elected to the Wisconsin Legislature.

Representing the 18th Assembly District, Coggs became chairwoman of the State Assembly Committee on Aging, Women and Minorities; the Committee on Family and Economic Assistance; and the Committee on Children and Human Services. She also served on the Assembly Committees on Health and Human Services, Criminal Justice and Public Safety, Urban Affairs and Housing, and others. She became a member of the influential Joint Committee on Finance and the Legislative Council.

Debunking myths about affirmative action programs, Bettye Latimer, Madison's affirmative action officer, stated that "affirmative action 'opens up the whole selection process' so minorities and women have equal opportunities. [It] does not displace whites from their jobs nor tell employers whom to hire. [It] does not deal in quotas . . . it deals with goals. [Another myth] is based on the assumption that all white men working now are qualified, that none are mediocre. . . . Affirmative action doesn't have to be a guilt trip." (*The Capital Times*, May 7)

On May 11 Secretary of the Interior Kleppe, formally designated the old W.E.B. Du Bois homestead in Great Barrington, Massachusetts, as a National Historical Landmark.

Prof. David B. Abernathy, chairman of Stanford University Committee on African Studies, stated that Black Africa is judged by a double standard. He stated that it is difficult to mobilize support for majority rule in South Africa, Rhodesia (Zimbabwe), and South-West Africa (Namibia), when we define their alleged pattern of failure as anarchy, civil war, brutal dictatorship, or economic stagnation. "The belief that Africans cannot rule themselves is clearly racist. When disruptive events occur in Latin America or Asia—not to mention Europe itself—they seldom trigger such a reaction. Few would seriously assert that civil strife in northern Ireland, a military coup in Portugal, the torture of political prisoners in Greece, or our own Watergate and Congressional sex scandals prove that whites are incapable of self-government." (*The Capital Times*, August 28)

The African-American Manifesto on Southern Africa was adopted at a conference of organizational leaders convened by the Congressional Black Caucus, September 24-25, in Washington, D.C. Among those attending were the NAACP, PUSH, AFRICARE, Black Economic Research Council, National Council of Negro Women, and members of the Congressional Black Caucus. This meeting expressed solidarity with the Africans protesting racism and oppression in Soweto, Port Elizabeth, Capetown, Johannesburg, and elsewhere in South Africa.

William Cofield was hired as the head coach of the Wisconsin basketball team in March. He was the first African-American head coach in the Big Ten Conference.

1977

A study conducted jointly by the Gannet Urban Journalism Center and the Medill School of Journalism at Northwestern University showed that only four percent of the employees of major newspapers are minorities. Only 11 minority people were in policy-making positions on the nation's daily (white) newspapers. Only five members of minority groups held the title of editor on daily papers. These papers had a combined daily circulation of 42,000 out of the nation's total daily circulation of 60 million. (*Daily World*, April 5, 1979, p. 25)

The television series "Roots" was seen by an estimated 80 million viewers. Along with the good aspects of the film, many stereotypes remained. Sections of the film spoke with a "white" accent and obscured important segments of the Black struggle. (*Interracial Books for Children Bulletin*,Vol. 8, No. 1, 1977, pp. 14-16)

For a more complete picture of how media portray the Black image, see *Freedomways*, 1974, 2nd Quarter.

Both factions in the United Steel Workers of America election campaign had Black men running for vice-president. For the first time in the history of that international union, there was a Black vice-president.

The "Dawson 5" case (Dawson, Georgia) was dismissed. Former policeman William M. Rucker testified that the accused were intimidated by law officers. Defense lawyer Millard Farmer, called the southern part of Georgia "the death belt .... Georgia has lynched and executed more people than any state in the Union, and now it's coming 'back into style.' We want to show the implications of a racist society." The "Dawson 5" claimed police threatened them with castration and electrocution to coerce a confession. (*Afro-American*, December 31, p. 1)

1978

Blacks, Hispanics, and Native Americans are drastically under-represented in professions dealing with the environment and natural resources. Only 2.6 percent of the U.S. Forest Service's national resource professionals are racial minorities. In the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency, 6.6 percent of professional-level employees are minorities. (Report of Urban Environment Foundation)

William Grant Still, dean of Black classical composers, died December 3. Still, a trailblazer in his field, he composed his "Afro-American Symphony" in 1931. It is regarded as the first work of its kind by an American Black composer. He was the first Black musician to conduct a major American orchestra, the Los Angeles Philharmonic, in the Hollywood Bowl in 1936. Among many other awards, he won two Guggenheim Fellowships. (*Afro-American*, December 16, p.1)

Calling the Sambo restaurant chain name "a constant reminder of slavery," the head of the Rhode Island Commission for Human Rights said he will seek state legislation to ban it. (*Afro-American*, September 23, p. 3)

About 3,000 people, Black and white, marched in Tupelo, Mississippi, November 27, demanding an end to race discrimination, police brutality, and terrorism by the Ku Klux Klan. The march was called by the United League of Mississippi and took place in the face of a counter-demonstration by 40 robed Klansmen brandishing shotguns, clubs, and machine guns. (*Daily World*, November 28, p. 1)

After six years of international protests against the incarceration of the "Wilmington 10," the Justice Department filed a "friend of the court" brief in Raleigh, North Carolina, urging U.S. District Court Judge Franklin Dupree to free the defendants. The government writ noted that the key prosecution witness, Allen Hall, changed his sworn testimony against the defendants sometime before the trial and that the prosecutor, Jay Stroud, failed to provide the defense with his "amended" statement. North Carolina Governor Hunt refused to grant clemency to the "Wilmington 10" in spite of protests across the country. (*Daily World*, November 10 and 15); (also see *Afro-American*, April 8, 15, and 22)

An hour-long television documentary on November 19 exposed a new Klan movement. In Detroit the Klan had recorded telephone messages stating: "If the candidate for the U. S. Congress from the National Christian Democratic Union were elected, we would immediately present legislation which would make it illegal for Negroes to live or shop in Dearborn or Dearborn Heights, and provide for a dawn to dusk curfew for their criminal element." In Southern California the Klan has their own police force and short-wave radio communication network. (*Detroit Chronicle*, December 16)

"Two of the Georgia counties President Carter represented as a State Senator are among Dixie areas where Black voting power is diluted by at-large elections," according to 26 federal court suits. They include Carter's home county, and Terrell, county seat of Dawson, scene of the celebrated "Dawson 5" case. (*Afro-American*, January 7, p. 1)

Singer Eartha Kitt finally returned to the White House after a ten-year exile. She had "bawled out" President Lyndon Johnson, saying to him: "You sent the best of this country off to be shot and maimed . . . . They don't want to go to school because they're going to be snatched off from their mothers to be shot in Vietnam." Although she remained an international star, Kitt could find almost no work in this country. (*Afro-American*, February 4, p. 1)

Seven-hundred thousand people living in Washington, D.C., whose population is three-quarters Black, have no voting representation in either the Senate or the House of Representatives. (*Afro-American*, March 25, p. 1)

Fifteen African-Americans have been elected to the House of Representatives, where they constitute only 3.5 percent of the House.

New Orleans elected its first African-American mayor, Ernest N. Morial, on May 1. (*Afro-American*, May 6, p. 1)

New Orleans Criminal Court Magistrate Robert F. Collins is the first Black U. S. district court judge in Louisiana and in the South. (*Afro-American*, May 27, p. 1)

When Eleanor Richardson, a registered nurse, moved into a white section of Philadelphia, a cross was burned in her driveway and two bricks were thrown through her windows. (*Afro-American*, June 3, p. 3)

Dr. Dorothy I. Height, president of the National Council of Negro Women, was chosen to receive the Distinguished Service Award of the National Newspaper Publishers Association. (*Afro-American*, June 10, p. 8)

Georgia State Senator Julian Bond, head of the Atlanta NAACP chapter, filed suit against the Federal Communications Commission seeking to have "n——r" added to the FCC ban on obscene words that are taboo on television. "I don't think it ought to be permissible to use the six-letter word that dehumanizes and badly characterizes an entire race of people." (*Afro-American*, August 19, p. 6)

The FBI, widely blamed for "benign neglect" in its handling of the anti-civil rights violence in the 1960s, is accused of provoking the KKK's brutal beating of Freedom Riders. The American Civil Liberties Union released 3,000 pages of documents that showed the FBI in 1961 gave a detailed itinerary for two busloads of Freedom Riders to a Birmingham, Alabama, police sergeant who was a known Klan member. The buses were met by gangs of Klansmen who beat the riders with pipes, chains, and baseball bats. (*Afro-American*, September 2, p. 1)

July 1978

Justice Thurgood Marshall's Bakke Dissent:

"In the light of the sorry history of discrimination, and its devastating impact on the lives of Negroes, bringing the Negro into the mainstream of American life should be a state interest of the highest order. To fail to do so is to ensure that America will forever remain a divided society.

"I do not believe that the Fourteenth Amendment requires us to accept that fate. Neither its history nor our past cases lend any support to the conclusion that a University may not remedy the cumulative effects of a society's discrimination by giving consideration to race in an effort to increase the number and percentage of Negro doctors.

"It is plain that the Fourteenth Amendment was not intended to prohibit measures designed to remedy the effects of the nation's past treatment of Negroes. The Congress that passed the Fourteenth Amendment is the same Congress that passed the 1866 Freedman's Bureau Act, an act that provided many of its benefits only to Negroes.

"As has been demonstrated in our joint opinion, this Court's past cases establish the constitutionality of race-conscious remedial measures . . . .

"While I applaud the judgment of the Court that a University may consider race in its admissions process, it is more than a little ironic that, after several hundred years of class-based discrimination against Negroes, the Court is unwilling to hold that a class-based remedy for that discrimination is permissible.

"In declining to so hold, today's judgment ignores the fact that for several hundred years Negroes have been discriminated against, not as individuals, but rather solely because of the color of their skins.

"It is unnecessary in 20th Century America to have individual Negroes demonstrate that they have been victims of racial discrimination; the racism of our society has been so pervasive that none, regardless of wealth or position, has managed to escape its impact.

"The experience of Negroes in America has been different in kind, not just in degree, from that of other ethnic groups. It is not merely the history of slavery alone but also that a whole people were marked as inferior by law. And that mark has endured . . . .

"If we are ever to become a fully integrated society, one in which the color of a person's skin will not determine the opportunities available to him or her, we must be willing to take steps to open those doors.

"I do not believe that anyone can truly look into America's past and still find that a remedy for the effects of the past is impermissible . . . ."

1979

When the 96th Congress convened in January, the United States Senate was all-white.

The U. S. Commission on Civil Rights has denounced continued dominance of the television industry by white males. The commission issued a 97-page report that urged the Federal Communications Commission to examine network programming decisions that led to stereotyped portrayals of women and minorities and the impact of these portrayals on viewers. (Afro-American, January 27, p. 2)

A federal district judge in Atlanta rejected a request from the NAACP and State Senator Julian Bond to ban the use of the word "n——r" from television. The judge claimed a legal technicality. Earlier the Federal Communications Commission rejected a similar request on the grounds that the epithet did not qualify as obscene, indecent, or profane. (*Afro-American*, February 17, p. 1)

An admitted FBI paid informer, suspected of murdering a white civil rights worker and being a participant in the 1963 bombing of a Birmingham, Alabama, church in which four Black children died, testified that he was promised immunity from prosecution by the FBI and other Department of Justice officials.

Lowndes County (Alabama) prosecutor John Tabor said he had new evidence and three witnesses who could identify Gary Thomas Rowe, Jr., as the trigger man in the assassination of Viola Gregg Liuzzo, who was murdered during the 1965 March on Selma, that was led by Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr. The prosecutor said he had evidence that Rowe murdered Liuzzo while he was on the FBI's payroll as that agency's chief spy inside the Ku Klux Klan.

Rowe denied the murder charge and swore that both Alabama law enforcement officials and the Justice Department had promised him permanent immunity from prosecution in the death of Liuzzo. (*Afro-American*, January 6, p. 1)

Vernon E. Jordan, president of the National Urban League, stated January 17: "It is our grim duty to inform you that the state of Black America today verges on the brink of disaster. . . . 1979 promises to be a year of crisis for America's Black people." He said that Black Americans can't stand a recession which is being widely predicted by the nation's economists. "When this economy sneezes, we get pneumonia." (Afro-American, January 27, p. 1)

Aaron Douglas died on February 2. He founded and, for 29 years, was chairman of the Art Department at Fisk University. He was a leading painter during the Harlem Renaissance of the 1920s and has been called the "father" of Black American art.

The racist plaque "NIG," erected by tour guides at Hoover Dam (Nevada) and dedicated to a dog who was a mascot to the men who built the dam, was finally removed on March 21 as a result of much public protest from Wisconsin and elsewhere. (*Las Vegas Review Journal* February 30, March 27, April 5; *Afro-American*, January 16, April 28; *Daily World*, March 30; *Wisconsin State Journal*, May 6; *The Capital Times*, May 8)

The median income of Black families was 57 percent that of white families. This represented a decline from 62 percent in 1976. The median income for Black families was $9,563 and for white families $16,740. The jobless rate for Black teenagers was 40 percent. (*Wall Street Journal*, March 6, p. 40)

Descendants of America's Black slaves are owed $2.16 trillion ($86,000 for each Black person in the U.S.) for reparations for enslavement, as reported to the annual meeting of the Association of Social and Behavioral Scientists in Washington by L. Alex Swan, Chairman of Texas Southern University's Sociology Department. (*Afro-American*, March 31, p. 1)

"Police surveillance and dossier-keeping have been used to inhibit dissent and have had especially serious impact on the poor, on Black and Hispanic people, and on other ethnic minorities. The effect of such surveillance has often been to thwart lawful attempts to seek redress of grievances or to effect social change" according to a statement by the American Friends Service Committee. (*Afro-American*, April 28)

The 1980s—"The Reagan Years"— The "New Racism"

Although advances continued to be made in the area of electoral politics resulting from the efforts and work of innumerable Black individuals and organizations, the economic decline of this period fell most heavily on African-Americans. This was greatly exacerbated by the "structural" crisis—the transfer of major industries to low-wage areas both inside and outside the United States, causing the loss of hundreds of thousands of better-paying jobs. The end result was a new poverty, a declining educational system, worsened health care, destabilized family life, and a rising crime rate. In general, the country faced social problems with no specific relationship to ethnicity or color but affecting a large segment of the Black population because of their forced inferior status in American society. The median income for Blacks was far below those for whites. Unemployment rates climbed twice as much among African-Americans as among whites.

The National Urban League projections showed that while high-tech jobs were expected to increase by 586,000 between the years 1986 and 2000, unskilled labor (service jobs such as maids, janitors, and clericals) would increase by 3.2 million jobs. These mostly low-paying and many part-time jobs will disproportionately be filled by Black labor.

Prospects in the business world looked equally dismal, with African-American business ownership falling far short of parity by about 1.7 million firms, with receipts but 1.2 percent needed for parity with white-owned business establishments. In fact, receipts of Black firms continued to drop in relation to white business. A large proportion of African-American businesses are owned by an individual or a married couple, and most are service-oriented. The number of Black-operated firms also declined during the decade.

The added burden of "Reaganomics"—the slashing of much-needed social programs—contributed to a sharp increase in poverty, especially among Black families with children.

Few top appointments went to African-Americans under President Ronald Reagan. Improved racial attitudes by white Americans were, in part, offset by both official hostility as well as the negative views of the news media and the film industry toward African-Americans. This atmosphere appeared to open the door to a rising tide of racist violence seen in the 1980s. Klan activities continued, and in Texas, a guerrilla warfare training camp was established.

Black elected officials also have noted an unusual amount of official surveillance of both their private and official lives, far in excess of their white counterparts.

Old racist theories were being reworked. The claim of a "ghetto underclass" was defined not only by its economic poverty but also by its alleged social and cultural pathologies which were peculiar, not to poor people in general, but only to Black Americans. Those opposed to open housing, for example, claim they are not opposed to Black people, but to this "underclass," blaming them for their situation and thus making improvements in their lives next to impossible.

The 1980s also saw serious attacks on civil rights and affirmative action with the Reagan-dominated Supreme Court reversing earlier legislation that was both "workable and working." New civil rights bills were condemned and characterized as "quota" legislation designed to force employers to hire unqualified Black workers. In fact, the aims of the entire civil rights movement were distorted to make it appear as a form of "social engineering"—intrusions designed to impose restrictions on white, working people to take away their freedoms.

Ghetto dwellers, left with few economic resources, fell victim to the usual problems associated with poverty: the worst schools and poor health care, an extremely high unemployment rate, and the high crime rate that always follows. Basic social problems were officially sidestepped and the "explanation" became "race"—as if "those people" were lacking in their "moral makeup." "Race" is worked into every facet of people's lives. Political races from presidential to congressional have been decided on "racial" issues. "Race" hovers over such matters as the death penalty, taxes, crime and welfare. It defines national ideologies. It becomes a factor in where people want to live. It breaks alliances of people with common interests and concerns. In short, "race" has completely distorted the American psyche, affecting all people, Black and white, to one degree or another.

Supreme Court Justice Thurgood Marshall in his "Bakke" dissent (July 1978), warned of the dangers if America continues to be a divided society. Later, speaking at the Second Circuit Judicial Conference in September 1989, he noted that the liberties of all Americans were bound very closely together, that the "fates of equal rights and liberty rights are inexorably intertwined," and that the loss of civil rights for minorities puts all citizens at risk.

Racism in Sports

Although Black athletes appear to dominate certain sports, racism and racial stereotyping have affected the sports scene as they have all other aspects of American life. Science is being compromised and misused to answer a sociological question: Not, why do Black people make good athletes, but, why are so many good athletes Black? African-American youth see the doors to banking, journalism, medicine, law, and science not as openings, but as obstacles. And they see the key to their future in sports because that door seems to be open.

The continuing myth of Black physical superiority and, conversely, Black mental inferiority is part of our racist heritage. As a result, a form of segregation within football's team structure has been an established practice until very recently. For example, certain positions known as "white positions"—such as center, quarterback and linebacker requiring good mental comprehension and thinking—traditionally have not gone to Black players.

This distorted characterization—the claim that Black athletes could not successfully compete at certain positions—did not originate with the general public. It came from the powerbrokers—the team owners along with sportswriters and broadcasters, investors, and network hosts who kept sports lily-white for decades.

On the college level, administrators often see football and basketball as major sources of income. They put more effort into recruiting Black students who are athletes than those who are not, and they show little concern for the future of those who do not make good in sports.

Notably lacking, too, are Black coaches on the college level, leaving Black athletes with few role models. Likewise, professional sports offer few opportunities for Black players to advance to management positions when their playing days are over.

Emlen Tunnell, in 1963, was the first Black assistant coach in the National Football League (NFL). By 1973, seven of 100 assistant coaches were Black, while Black players constituted 36 percent of all players.

By 1980, Black players in the NFL were 50 percent of the total, yet only ten out of 280 were assistant coaches. At that time, there were no Black head coaches, no Black general managers, no Blacks in the Collective Bargaining Arm of the NFL Players Association, no Blacks in policy-making positions of the NFL. (Institutional Racism: A Study of Managerial Recruitment in Professional Football—Jomills Henry Braddock II, Center for Social Organization of Schools. The Johns Hopkins University, 1980)

The opportunities for women in sports have been much more limited than for men, reflecting the chauvinism that has long been a part of our society. For Black women, the gender and color barriers have created a double obstacle. The lack of female coaches and the opportunity to become a coach, the lack of role models, too little funding for women's sports facilities, and little effort directed to creating interest in, and encouragement for women's sports, are serious impediments.

1980 Jack "Jackie" Roosevelt Robinson was the first African-American baseball player to break into the major leagues on April 11, 1947, after years of national protests against the all-white hiring practices of baseball owners.

Although he won many honors (including Most Valuable Player and batting champion in 1949) in the National League, he continued to face racism. He later said: "In baseball or out we are no longer willing to wait until Judgement Day for equality. . . . We are going to press forward against bigotry until the bigots understand the full meaning of the precious word: democracy."

"As I write this 20 years later, I cannot stand and sing the national anthem. I cannot salute the flag. I know I am a Black man in a white world. In 1972, in 1947, at my birth in 1919, I know that I never had it made." (Baseball Has Done It, p. 2; Ebony, June 1980, p. 104)

"Baseball is a long way from paying its debt to the Black player—if it ever can. It's unbelievable that in the 35 years since Jackie Robinson broke the color barrier, and after all the Blacks that have come and gone, there are no Black managers in the game," noted Henry Louis "Hank" Aaron, baseball's all-time home-run champion (*Ebony*, June 1980, p. 105; *Afro-American*, June 20, 1987)

1988 Florence Griffith Joyner won four gold medals at the 1988 Summer Olympics.

1989 NBC's television show "Black Athletes—Fact and Fiction," anchored by Tom Brokaw, claimed "scientific evidence" that African-Americans excel in sports because they are physically superior. Some political commentators have called this reasoning consistent with myths about the sexuality of African-American men.

Although Brokaw claimed his contention did not mean that African-Americans are mentally inferior, Gene Upshaw, president of the National Football League Players Association, objected, saying, "I think it's negative in some respects because no one is focusing on the intelligence level that Blacks do possess. They make it seem that the only thing we can do is to run and jump and shoot basketballs, and that's not true." (*People's Daily World*, May 4)

Bill White was the first African-American to be named president of major league baseball's National Baseball League. (*Ebony*, May, p. 44)

The NAACP, a number of professional basketball and football unions, and others urged sanctions against two sports publications—*Football News* and *Basketball Weekly*, published in Detroit by Roger Stanton. The publications contained articles contending that Black athletes have lower IQ's than whites, "lack discipline," "have greater emotional swings than the white athlete," and are "most likely to get into trouble." (*People's Daily World*, May 11, 1989)

Sugar Ray Robinson (Walker Smith, Jr.), considered by many to be, pound for pound, the world's greatest professional boxer, died April 12, at age 67. Robinson was excluded in 1987, from the Michigan Sports Hall of Fame, an organization with an all-white board of directors. He had won all of his 89 amateur fights, the 1939 Golden Gloves title, and 174 of his 201 professional fights.

Frank Robinson, named the first Black manager in major league baseball in 1975, believes discrimination continues against minorities serving as managers and as "front-office" personnel because of those "who don't want that little inner circle broken." (*Afro-American*, May 30, page B7)

A 66-page study by the National Collegiate Athletic Association says that many Black athletes feel they are perceived as necessary but not entirely welcome components of campus life whose primary value to their university is generating income and prestige for the football and basketball programs. (*New York Times*, April 6)

On Ted Koppel's ABC "Nightline" show, Al Campanis, former vice-president of the Los Angeles Dodgers baseball team, stated: "Black men simply couldn't function as quarterback, baseball pitcher, and/or television anchorman due to physical limitations." (*Afro-American*, May 4)

Blacks held only 17 managerial positions in major league baseball—1.9 percent—out of 879 jobs. Among 16 baseball clubs, there are no Black employers. Only one out of 26 teams has a Black executive in a policy-making position. As of 1989, there were no Black owners or general managers. (*Afro-American*, May 9)

"There are no managers in big league baseball. That's shameful but it isn't any different from all other areas of American life. After all, how many Blacks are top policy-making executives in U.S. corporations? How many are there in the Reagan Administration? But for the most part, too many front-office executives in the sport world still think Blacks can only hit and throw balls. Any way you look at it, that view is racist and it's shared by many government and corporate executives," said John Jacob, executive-director, of the national Urban League. (*Afro-American*, May 9)

1990 Noted University of California-Berkeley sociologist Harry Edwards commented, "Black athletes on predominantly white campuses are part of the 'plantation system' of college sports. It's not part of Martin Luther King's dream. They're simply moved from the cotton fields to the football fields. Black athletes are not taken seriously as students—if they don't produce they are cast aside. The philosophy of these practices— 'If these n——rs weren't born to run, then why the hell should we have them on our campuses?'—is pure unadulterated racism. I have never met a scholarship athlete at a Division I school that was dumb." (*The Capital Times*, April 6)

Jim Brown, Cleveland Brown running back elected to the National Football League Hall of Fame in 1971, threatened to withdraw his name from the roster of the Hall of Fame because of racism in the selection process. A panel of sportswriters, all of whom are white, makes the selections to the NFL's highest honor. (*People's Daily World*, March 1, page 23)

"There have been no Black umpires in American League baseball in the past 20 years," wrote sports editor Sam Lacy. (*Afro-American*, April 7)

Althea Gibson, born in Silver, South Carolina, August 25, 1927, was the first Black tennis player in Wimbledon in 1951. In 1957 she won the Wimbledon singles title, and with Darlene Hurd won the doubles. Gibson was then considered the best woman player in the world.

Henry Aaron was born in Mobile, Alabama, February 5, 1934. Aaron began his big league career with the Milwaukee Braves in 1954, and was named MVP in 1957. Aaron won two batting titles, won the home run and RBI title four times each, and was named to 20 consecutive All-Star teams. He was nominated to Baseball's Hall of Fame in 1982, and had a career total of 755 home runs, an all-time record.

Arthur Ashe, born in 1943 in Richmond, Virginia, was twice ranked the No. 1 tennis player in the world. He won Wimbledon, the Australian Open, the U.S. Open, and the U.S. Clay Court Championship. Ashe was the first African-American to be named to the Davis Cup Team.

Wilma Rudolph was widely recognized as the world's fastest woman after she won gold medals in the 100-meter run, 200-meter run, and 400-meter relay at the 1960 Olympics. That same year she was named Female Athlete of the Year by the Associated Press.

Zina Garrison in 1988 advanced to the quarter finals of the U.S. Open tennis tournament, and won the gold medal in the Seoul, Korea, Summer Olympics. At age 24 she was named International Tennis Federation's Junior of Year after winning Wimbledon and U.S. Open Junior's Title in 1981.

The Decade of the Eighties

1980

January NAACP Executive Director Benjamin Hooks called on all branches across the country to establish civilian review boards to examine police conduct in view of "the hundreds of questionable deaths" at the hands of police. (*Afro-American*, January 5)

The Reverend Ben Chavis, political activist and leader of the "Wilmington 10," was finally released on parole after four years in prison. Chavis became a worldwide symbol after having been convicted of "guilt by association." Amnesty International called him a prime example of a political prisoner in the United States. (*Afro-American*, January 5)

Both Dallas and Houston, Texas, were barred from holding elections for much of 1979 because city council districts did not adequately represent minorities. (*New York Times*, January 21)

Of the 678 federal judgeships, only 44 are held by Blacks; one-half of them were named by President Jimmy Carter.

Because Black and Hispanic workers make up 30 percent of New York City's labor force but only 11.5 percent of the police force, a federal district judge has ordered that half of all new police officers must be Black and Hispanic in order to correct the disproportion. (*New York Times*, January 30; *State of Black America*, 1980, p. 288)

February A 302-page Justice Department report reveals that former FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover blocked the prosecution of four Ku Klux Klansmen identified as being responsible for the September 15, 1963, bombing that killed four Black children at the 16th Street Baptist Church in Birmingham, Alabama. (*State of Black America,* Feb. 17; *Afro-American*, August 23; *New York Times*, July 24, 1983, sec. 6, p. 12)

March Howard University, founded in 1867 and considered by many the greatest African-American higher education institution in the United States, celebrated its 113th anniversary March 2.

April More than 2,500 mourners crowded Rockefeller Chapel in Chicago to attend the burial of James Cleveland "Jesse" Owens, hailed as the "greatest Olympic" athlete of our times. He won four gold medals at the 1936 Berlin Olympics and made a mockery of Hitler's myth of Aryan supremacy. He died on March 21 at age 66. (*Afro-American*, April 12)

Under the Equal Credit Opportunity Act, Amoco Oil Company agreed to pay a civil penalty of $200,000 for discrimination against minorities and women in the issuance of credit cards. Denial of credit cards to possibly 50,000 applicants resulted from Amoco's use of zip codes to determine credit eligibility. (*State of Black America*, 1980, p. 289)

Gloria Naylor won the National Book Award for her first novel, *The Women of Brewster Place*.

December Receipts of Black firms continued to drop in relation to white businesses, declining to 0.18 percent of the total. Of the gross national product, Black firms were only 0.44 percent of total U.S. business. (*Black Enterprise*, December 1980)

The 1980 median income for whites was $21,824; for African-Americans, $11,644. (U.S. Department of Commerce)

Only one percent of decision-making editorial jobs in all American daily newspapers are held by African-Americans.

1981

January Charles R. Drew, pioneer in blood plasma research and developer of the world's first blood bank, is honored by the United States Post Office with his likeness on a 35¢ stamp.

Ruth B. Love is voted the first Black General Superintendent of Chicago's schools.

February Representatives of the Black Congressional Caucus stated: "Reagan is a reverse Robin Hood, robbing the poor and giving to the rich . . . hacking away at the lifeline of millions of the poor." Cleveland Chandler, head of the Howard University Economics Department, said, "It will take us back about fifty years." (*Afro-American*, February 28)

President Reagan unveils "America's New Beginning: A Program for Economic Recovery," a plan to reduce the federal budget by $41 billion. A national coalition of 157 civil rights, trade union, and religious groups condemn cuts in social programs. At least 20 million to 25 million people living at or below the poverty level would have their incomes cut. (*State of Black America*, 1981, pp. 313-16)

April Joe Louis, the "Brown Bomber," considered the greatest heavyweight boxer of the last 50 years, died April 12 at age 67. He successfully defended his heavy-weight title 25 times from 1937-1949. He was born on May 3, 1914, and was buried at Arlington National Cemetery in Washington, D.C. (*Afro-American*, April 18)

July Ernest Lacy, a slender, 22-year-old Black man, was killed on July by Milwaukee, Wisconsin, police officers for a crime he did not commit. Eighteen thousand people marched to protest the killing as well as to protest a long history of police brutality. Black police officers had been systematically excluded from promotions above the rank of sergeant, with a history of discrimination against those who filed suits against the police department.

(*Milwaukee Community Journal*, August 5 and 19, September 30, October 14, November 11 and 25, December 16 and 23; *Courier*, January 30 and February 2, 1982; *The Milwaukee Journal*, July 9, 10, 11, 12, and 13)

Only 19 of President Reagan's 400 top appointments have gone to African-Americans. (*New York Times*, July 26)

Lillian Roberts was the first Black woman to head the New York State Labor Department.

September Roy Wilkins, president of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, died September 8. He served as executive director of the NAACP since 1955. He was born in St. Louis on August 30, 1901. He was 80 years old at the time of his death. (*Afro-American*, September 19; *The Negro Almanac*, p. 170)

November Ten armed policemen, intoxicated and out of uniform, stormed a hotel in Houston, Texas, in a Black neighborhood shouting n——s, n——s and then roughed up a number of tenants. They arrived at the hotel in a truck bearing Confederate and skull-and-crossbone flags. Eight people were badly beaten. (Afro-Americ*an*, November 21, p. 1; *New York Times*, November 9, p. 16)

December Former President Nixon aide, John Erlichman, quoted Nixon as saying "America's Blacks could only marginally benefit from federal programs because Blacks are genetically inferior" and added that they could never achieve "parity in intelligence, economic success, or social qualities." (*Afro-American*, December 19, p. 3)

1982

January The January 30 death of Sam "Lightnin'" Hopkins, guitarist and blues singer from Texas, is called "a major loss to the musical world." (*Afro-American*, February 13)

Kenneth Painter surrendered to Jackson, Mississippi, police on the charge he fired a gun into the office of the *Jackson Advocate*, a Black newspaper. (*New York Times*, January 23, p. 7)

February The U.S. Commission on Civil Rights in its latest report, "The Decline of Black Farming in America," wrote that while displacement from land threatens all small farms, land loss occurred most severely among Black farm operators. In the 1970s, Black-operated farms declined 57 percent, two and one-half times that of white-operated farms. In 1920, there were 926,000 Black farms. In 1978, there were only 57,271 Black farms. (*Afro-American*, February 23, p. 3; *National Catholic Rural Life*, July 1987; *Proceedings of the Home Mission Forum*, 1987; *Wisconsin State Journal*, May 7, 1929)

The Federal District Court Jury of Chattanooga, Tennessee, awarded $535,000 to five Black women who were wounded by shotgun blasts by three former Klansmen. (*New York Times*, February 28)

April According to the U.S. Census Bureau, the unemployment rate continues to climb: for all workers, it reaches 9 percent; for Black workers, 18 percent. (*Afro-American*, April 10)

Seven police officers were dismissed and six suspended in Houston, Texas, for harassing and beating several guests at the Delta Apartments Hotel in the predominantly Black Fifth Ward. (*New York Times*, April 17, p. 6)

May Of 191,000 Black businesses, 82.7 percent are owned and operated by a single individual or a husband and wife. Most are "service" businesses that cannot compete with large chains, must pay higher insurance rates, and are "redlined" by banks; 75 percent go bankrupt after three years. (*Afro-American*, May 11)

June Leroy "Satchel" Page died June 6 at age 78. He is still considered to be the greatest baseball pitcher of all time. In 1946, in the Negro World Series, he led the Kansas City Monarchs to victory, allowing only two runs in 93 innings. (*The Negro Almanac*, p. 743)

August The National Urban League called for Black development in the form of a Marshall Plan, with $100 billion going for work and job training. (*Afro-American*, August 7, p. 1)

September Rear Admiral Gerald Eutis Thomas was confirmed by the U.S. Senate as envoy to Guyana. (*Jet*, September 13)

More than 500 African-American journalists met at Detroit's Book Cadillac Hotel for the National Association of Black Journalists' seventh annual convention, working to increase Black leadership. Professor Luther Jackson of New York's Columbia University said, "Newspapers cater to large advertisers and therefore will probably not inspire minority coverage. (*Jet*, September 21)

Father Leslie A. Branch became the first Black Catholic chaplain in the history of the U.S. Navy. (*Jet*, September 21)

John Hawkins, the first Black cheerleader at the University of Mississippi at Oxford, refused to carry a Confederate flag as part of his cheerleader's activities. He said, "I am still a Black man . . . and know what my ancestors went through and what the rebel flag represents." (*Jet*, September 27, p. 7)

Shirley M. Phillips was named the first Black woman superintendent of the Fulton County, Georgia, Board of Education. (*Jet*, September 27, p. 22)

October A 1979 report, newly released as a result of a Freedom of Information Act suit brought by *Playboy* magazine, says the FBI covered up violent activities of Gary Thomas Rowe, Jr., Klan informant from 1959 to 1965. He was charged but could not be tried for the murder of a civil rights worker, Viola Liuzo. (*New York Times*, October 31, p. 32, and November 29, p. 14)

Income of African-Americans was only 55 percent of whites; Blacks owned only 2 percent of the nation's wealth and owned less than 1 percent of total U.S. stock value. (U.S. Census Bureau; *Black Enterprise*, October 1983)

The Du Sable Museum in Chicago, founded by noted African-American artist Margaret Burroughs and named in honor of the Black man who founded the city of Chicago, celebrated its twentieth birthday. (*Jet*, October 25)

The Black Police Association celebrated its tenth anniversary in Houston, Texas. (*Jet*, October 25)

Black mayors are often treated unfairly in the news media and are more likely to be persecuted for minor infractions than their white counterparts. "We realize we do not have a monopoly on mistakes," said Mayor Johnny Henderson of Willson, Missouri, at a two-day session of Black Mayors in St. Louis. (*Jet*, October 25)

November Annette Gordon was selected as one of the Black editors of the prestigious *Harvard Review Law Journal*. (*Jet*, November 1, p. 23)

Nine plaintiffs in the 12-year-old Black Panther civil rights lawsuit, including the mothers of Fred Hampton and Mark Clark, two Panther leaders killed in a Chicago police raid, have agreed to a $1.85 million settlement. (*Jet*, November 15, p. 11)

Oscar Adams was elected the first Black state supreme court justice in Alabama. (*Jet*, November 22, p. 7)

Rayford Logan, distinguished Black historian and professor emeritus of History at Howard University, died at age 85. (*Jet*, November 22, p. 23)

Former Mayor Eddie Carthan of Tchula, Mississippi, was acquitted of murder on a frame-up. Elected in 1977, he was the first Black mayor of that city. (*Jet*, November 22, p. 23)

Etta Moten Barnett, distinguished actress and concert artist, was honored on her 81st birthday by the Chicago South Side Community Art Center, one of the nation's oldest Black cultural institutions. (*Jet*, November 22, p. 59)

Leo Chitman was elected the first Black mayor of West Memphis, Arkansas. (*Jet*, November 29, p. 14)

December Dennis J. Brownlee received approval from the Federal Communications Commission for his U.S. Satellite Broadcasting Company, one of seven systems providing TV to home viewers. (*Jet*, December 13, p. 46)

Maurice F. Rabb, the first Black doctor admitted to the Jefferson County, Kentucky, Medical Society, the first Black anesthesiologist in Louisville, and a noted civil rights activist, died at age 80. (*Jet*, December 20, p. 17)

A Federal Grand Jury indicted three men on a charge of firebombing the home of a Black family in a Chicago suburb. (*New York Times*, December 8, p. 1)

The seven largest Black denominations, representing 65,000 churches and 20 million Christians, established the Congress of National Black Churches to coordinate economic and social self-help efforts as well as civil rights initiatives. African Methodist Episcopal Church Bishop John Hurst Adams is chairman. (*New York Times*, December 12, p. 1)

1983

January William E. Dye made history when he became the first African-American chief of police in Columbus, Missouri. Earlier, he had been the first Black police chief in East St. Louis, Illinois, and later was chief in Champaign, Illinois. (*Jet,* January 10, p. 6).

February Judge Reginald W. Gibson was sworn in as the first Black judge with the U.S. Court of Claims. (*Afro-American*, February 12, p. 14)

James Hubert "Eubie" Blake, famed entertainer, died February 12 at age 100. He was initiated into the American Music and Entertainment Hall of Fame, was decorated for Distinguished Civilian Service at age 96, and at age 98 was presented with the Presidential Medal of Freedom. (*Afro-American*, February 19, p. 1)

Four University of Wisconsin police officers sued the university, claiming racial and sexual harassment by a number of white officers who called them "n——r," and "n——r b——h," terms frequently heard around the UW Department of Protection and Security. (*The Capital Times*, February 24, 1984)

Alpha Kappa Alpha, the oldest Black sorority, celebrated its 75th birthday on February 19 in Baltimore. (*Afro-American*, March 12, p. 12).

March March is the 156th anniversary of the Black press whose first paper, *Freedom's Journal*, appeared on March 16, 1827. (*Afro-American*, April 2)

April Harold Washington was sworn in as Chicago's first Black mayor on April 19. (*Afro-American*, April 23, p. 1)

Earl "Fatha" Hines, renowned piano player, died at the age of 78 in Oakland, California, on Friday, April 22. He was born in 1905 in Duquesne, Pennsylvania. (*Afro-American*, April 30, p. 1)

The chancellor of the University of Mississippi, Porter Fortune, banned the use of the Confederate flag as the official school symbol. That university had been integrated at bayonet-point 20 years earlier. (*Afro-American*, April 30, p. 3)

Patricia Roberts Harris, the first Black woman to serve as a U.S. ambassador and a presidential cabinet member, is now a professor of law at George Washington University in Washington, D.C. (*Jet*, April 11, p. 28)

Legendary blues singer Muddy Waters (McKinley Morganfield) died at age 68. (*Jet,* May 16, p. 54)

There are no African-American heads of corporations in *Fortune's* top 1,000. (*Newsweek*, May 23)

June The top 400 construction companies in the U.S. do not include one minority firm. (*Jet*, June 18)

July The Justice Department filed a civil suit against the State of Alabama, charging that it had "maintained and perpetuated a dual system of public higher education based on race." According to the suit, qualified Black applicants were rejected for admission to white schools on the basis of race while Blacks were excluded from faculty, staff, and governing boards. (*State of Black America*, 1983, p. 155)

August Jennie R. Patrick, a senior research engineer at Philip Morris Research Center, was the first Black woman to get a Ph.D. in chemical engineering. (*Afro-American*, August 6)

The New York Commission on Judicial Review ruled that a judge who hurled racial slurs at three Black men in a Mount Kisco bar and threatened to "railroad" them if they ever appeared in his court should be removed from the bench for misconduct. (*New York Times*, p. 10)

Lt. Col. Guion S. Bluford, Jr., became the first Black U.S. astronaut in space.

September Chicago Mayor Harold Washington named Fred Rice to serve as Chicago's first Black police superintendent. (*Jet*, September 12, p. 8)

October Several thousand people attended the First Annual Black Issues Conference in Somerset, New Jersey, to deal with the issues of Black leadership, family planning, and the Black community and to engage in information exchange. (*Afro-American*, October 1, p. 23)

Seven people were arrested in connection with one of four recent cross burnings in central New Jersey. (*New York Times*, October 7, p. 2)

New Hampshire Governor Thomson released a letter from President Reagan which said, in part (regarding proposed Martin Luther King, Jr., holiday): "On the national holiday you mentioned, I have the reservations you have. But here the perception of too many people is based on image, not reality . . . . We hope that some modifications might take place in Congress."

Elsewhere, Reagan also said he is convinced of the sincerity of North Carolina Senator Jesse Helms, who charged King was a communist sympathizer and demanded that the records of the 1960s FBI wiretap of King be divulged. (*Afro-American*, October 29, p. 1)

Terrance Todman was recently sworn in as America's Ambassador to Denmark, perhaps the most significant role accorded an African-American in the Reagan Administration's international program. (*Jet*, October 24, 1983)

November Wallace Ford II, former deputy commissioner of the New York State Department of Commerce, was appointed executive director of the State of New York Mortgage Agency in Manhattan. (*Jet*, November 7, p. 24)

After years of public pressure, President Ronald Reagan signed the legislation marking a national holiday honoring Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr. (*Jet*, November 21, 1983)

December Several thousand Black victims of job discrimination won a $50 million settlement in a job bias suit against the Burlington Northern Railroad, citing job discrimination in hiring, promotion, and initial job assignments, after Amtrak took over in early 1970. (*Afro-American*, December 10, p. 1)

The total assets of the insurance industry in the United States were $658.5 billion. Of this, the 38 Black insurance firms had assets of $766 million. (American Council of Life Insurers)

All minority Savings and Loan assets equal only 0.1 percent of the total.

Norma Sklarel, first Black woman inducted into the American Institute of Architects College of Fellows in the U.S., was keynote speaker at a seminar "Minority Women in Architecture: A Sense of Achievement," held at Howard University, December 17. (*Afro-American*, December 19, p. 13)

1984

January Margaret Burroughs, director and founder of the Chicago Du Sable Museum of African-American History, was awarded the Chicago State University Alumni Award of Distinction. (*Jet*, January 2, p. 21)

Wilson Goode was sworn in as Philadelphia's first Black mayor. (*Afro-American*, January 14, p. 1)

Robert N.C. Nix, Jr., was recently installed in Philadelphia as chief justice of the Pennsylvania supreme court, making him the first African-American to head a state court system in the United States. (*Jet*, January 23)

The Reverend Jesse Jackson became the first African-American private citizen to secure the release of a prisoner of war. He won the release of Navy Lieutenant Robert O. Goodman, Jr., by negotiating with Syrian President Hafez Al-Assad. Goodman, a bombardier-navigator, was captured December 4, 1983, while engaged in combat in the Lebanese mountains. (*Jet*, January 23, 1984)

February The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People was 75 years old on February 12.

Ruth B. Love, superintendent of the Chicago Public School System, was named among the 100 best school managers in North America by *Educators Magazine*. (*Jet*, February 20, p. 21)

Yvonne B. Miller, professor of early childhood education at Norfolk, Virginia State University, was sworn in as a member of the Virginia General Assembly, the first Black woman elected to that post. (*Jet*, February 27)

March Clarence Mitchell died on March 3. He had served 30 years as director of the NAACP Washington bureau. He was a leader in the fight to end southern segregation. In 1956 he was arrested in Florence, South Carolina, for refusing to use a "Black only" entrance to a railroad station. He received the NAACP Spingarn Medal in 1969, and on January 30, 1980, was given the Presidential Medal of Freedom. (*Afro-American*, March 3, p. 1)

April Eugene McCabe, president of North General Hospital in Harlem, was named to the Board of United Mutual Life Insurance Company, the only wholly Black-owned insurance firm in New York. (*Jet*, April 16, p. 21)

Arthur Mitchell, world-famous dancer-choreographer and founder of the nationally acclaimed Dance Theatre in Harlem, was honored with the Regents' Medal from the New York State Board of Regents for his contribution to fine arts education and for helping African-Americans to overcome barriers in the field of classical ballet. (*Jet*, April 23, p. 21)

William "Count" Basie, world-famous band leader, died April 26 in Red Bank, New Jersey. He was a major influence on jazz and his was the first Black jazz band to play at the Waldorf Astoria Hotel in New York City. (*The Negro Almanac*, p. 652)

July Eight Chicago real estate firms face charges of illegally steering whites to white areas while showing Black clients residences only in minority or integrated communities (*U.S. News and World Report*, July 2)

There were 19 Black elected officials for every 100,000 Black people; there were 224 non-Black elected officials for every 100,000 non-Blacks. There were a total of 5,606 Black elected officials, representing 1.1 percent of all elected officials. Forty percent of these are on the municipal level. (Joint Center for Political Studies, July)

August Bettie Benjamin, member of the Washington, D.C., Board of Education, was elected president of the Council of Great City Schools, representing the 34 largest urban school systems in the nation. (*Jet*, August 27, p. 21)

September David Hedgley, research mathematician at the National Aeronautics and Space Administration's Dryden Flight Research Facility in Edwards, California, was named recipient of the agency's Space Act Award for developing a major computer graphic breakthrough. (*Jet*, September 10, p. 21)

October Ronald Reagan, who opposed the Civil Rights Act of 1960, bought and sold several Los Angeles lots two decades earlier that specifically stipulated that only whites—except for servants—could live on the property, county land documents revealed. (*Afro-American*, October 13, p. 1)

November The Reverend Martin Luther King, Sr., father of Martin Luther King, Jr., died in Atlanta, Georgia, on November 11. He was involved in the struggle for civil and human rights. For 44 years, he was the pastor of the Ebenezer Baptist Church in Atlanta (*Jet*, November 26, 1984).

Kenneth B. Clark claimed that the passion of the civil rights movement has waned because white liberals feel they have "gone far enough" in promoting equal rights, and Blacks who have benefited now want to become "indistinguishable from their white corporate brothers." (*New York Times*, November 18, Sec. I, p. 47)

Seventy-five percent of all hazardous waste sites are in predominantly Black communities. (Commission for Racial Justice, United Church of Christ, 1984)

Chester T. Himes died at the age of 75 in Benissa, Spain. He wrote about life in Harlem in a series of detective novels. (*Jet*, November 26)

Black median family income is $15,430. White median family income is $27,690. Twenty percent of Black families have income of $25,000 or more. Fifty percent of white families have income of $25,000 or more. Children's death rate by age and race per 100,000 according to U.S. Census, 1984:

AGE	WHITE	BLACK
Under 1 year	963	2,124
1-4 years	49	84
5-15 years	23	31

December Elaine Murrell, director of the United States Department of Labor's Internal Federal Women's Program in Washington, D.C., was elected chairwoman of the Federal Women's Interagency Board, a group dedicated to improving the employment status of women in government. (*Jet,* December 24, p. 38)

1985

January The NAACP New York State Chapter opened a five-point drive to combat what is seen as a new assault on civil and human rights, charging that racism is once again accepted in "polite society." (*New York Times*, January 13, p. 26)

Circuit Court Judge Reuben V. Anderson, 42, was appointed to the Mississippi Supreme Court by Governor Bill Allain. He became the first African-American to join the state's highest court. (*Jet*, January 28)

Clarence Dickson became the first African-American police chief in Miami, Florida. (*Jet*, January 28)

Joyce F. Leland became the first female to be named a deputy police chief in Washington, D.C.. She became the first African-American female in U.S. history to reach such a height in law enforcement work. (*Jet*, January 28, 1985)

The first comprehensive collection devoted solely to the history of African-American labor in the United States was recently unveiled at the Afro-American Labor Archives at Rutgers University in New Brunswick, New Jersey. (*Jet*, January 28)

Elizabeth Wilson of Decatur, Georgia, became the first African-American city commissioner in the 161-year history of the city. (*Jet*, January 14)

April The cemetery of Rossville AME Zion Church, Staten Island, part of the nation's oldest surviving settlement of freed Blacks, is designated a New York City landmark. The settlement, Sandy Ground, was founded by Black oyster netters from Maryland's Eastern Shore who settled there to work Staten Island's oyster beds during the early part of the nineteenth century. (*New York Times*, April 15, p. 5)

The New York State legislature passed a bill renaming the Harlem State Office Building the Adam Clayton Powell, Jr., State Office Building. (*Jet*, April 1)

Brigadier General Donald J. Delandcro of Alexandria, Virginia, was appointed the adjutant general of the U.S. Army, making him the first African-American officer to hold that position. (*Jet*, April 1)

May Three decades after the epochal and momentous *Brown* v. *Board of Education* decision of 1954 calling for an end to public school desegregation, a majority of the nine million Black school children enrolled in America's 15,000 school districts are still in segregated schools—separate and unequal. (*Afro-American*, May 25)

The Congressional Black Caucus called for President Reagan to fire Mariame Mele Hall as chairwoman of the government's Copyright Royalty Tribunal for editing a book containing abhorrent racist philosophy. The 1982 book, *Foundations of Sand*, in which Hall listed herself as co-author, stated that U.S. Blacks "insist on preserving their jungle freedoms, their women, their avoidance of personal responsibilities, and their abhorrence of the work ethic." The book also stated that sociologists "put Blacks on welfare so that they can continue their jungle freedoms of leisure time and subsidized procreation . . . ." (*Afro-American*, May 5)

June Federal Communications Commission Chairman Mark Fowler claimed that the racist and inflammatory broadcasts of radio station KTTL of Dodge City, Kansas, were "protected advocacy" and posed "no clear and present danger." A KTTL broadcast said, "These Blacks haven't the capacity to rule and administer in your government. You must choose right from bad, good from evil, and Black from white." This was followed by "Get a 32-caliber gun and start pumping . . . . One way to get a n——r out of a tree is to cut the rope . . . . Don't be peaceful; praise Jesus and take a two-sided sword in your hand." (*Afro-American*, June 1)

July Ernest Finney is the first African-American to become a justice of the South Carolina Supreme Court since Reconstruction. (*Afro-American*, July 20)

Jerry D. Blakemore became the first African-American deputy governor of Illinois when he was appointed by Governor James Thompson. (*Jet*, July 8, 1985)

August The Rand Corporation's Institute for Civil Justice, in a study of civil trials in the Chicago area from 1959 to 1979, showed that juries returned more favorable verdicts for white defendants. (*Afro-American*, August 10)

Of the nearly 200 national historical sites, fewer than five percent are dedicated to the Black experience. Of the $618,684,000 provided in 1985 for operating funds, less than $2 million are spent on Black sites. (*Afro-American*, August 17)

September The Harlem Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture opened "The Black West," an exhibit of more than 100 photos of Black prospectors, settlers, soldiers, outlaws, and cowboys. (*New York Times*, September 16, p. 3)

Robert Jones, Jr., a cadet at the U.S. Naval Academy in Annapolis, Maryland, was the first African-American valedictorian in the 130-year history of St. John's College High in Washington, D.C. (*Jet*, September 16, p. 20)

October A General Accounting Office report found that 40 percent of the aid promised by the federal government to predominantly Black low-income, Liberty City, Florida, has not been delivered more than five years after the city blazed in a three-day race riot. (*New York Times*, October 13, p. 37)

Lincoln Alexander, chairman of the Workers' Compensation Board in Ontario, Canada, was appointed lieutenant governor by Prime Minister Brian Mulrony. He is the first Black Canadian to hold that position. (*Jet*, October 28, p. 20)

Edna J. Hayes, president of Ronphil Publishing Company, became the first African-American female to graduate from the George Meany Center for Labor Studies in Silver Spring, Maryland. The center was founded by the AFL-CIO in 1970 as a training and development institute for trade union leaders. (*Jet*, October 28)

Lynette Woodard, winner of the 1981 Wade Trophy as the best female basketball player in the nation, became the first female to join the Harlem Globetrotters, a world-famous basketball team. (*Jet*, October 28)

November A federal judge found the city of Yonkers, New York, liable for racial segregation in housing and schools. Nearly 20 years after the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1968, a survey released by the National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing stated that "97 percent of the housing experts found discrimination to be severe." (*Afro-American*, November 30)

The Bureau of Labor Statistics reported that the white teenage unemployment rate dropped from 20.1 percent to 18.4 percent. For Black teenagers, the rate increased from 39.7 percent to 40.9 percent.

A *Wall Street Journal* survey reported that there were only four Black senior executives in the nation's largest corporations.

A report of the Education Commission for the States stated that 28 percent of college-age whites were enrolled in college, but that only 19 percent of college-age African-Americans were enrolled.

There were more than 400 prominent African-American organizations in the United States. Additionally, there were about 50 scientific and science-related organizations.

There are presently three daily African-American newspapers and about 170 weekly papers.

Four hundred and sixty-five (3.8 percent) of the country's state court judges are Black, including nine on state supreme courts (2.7 percent) and 33 on intermediate appellate courts. As of 1988, there were 50 African-Americans (6.9 percent) on the federal judiciary. The majority of these judges are concentrated in five metropolitan cities: Chicago, Detroit, Los Angeles, New York, and Philadelphia. (*The Negro Almanac, pp.* 337-338)

December The election of Roman Catholic Auxiliary Bishop Eugene A. Marino of Washington to secretary of the National Conference of Catholic Bishops marked the first time an African-American has been named to one of the organizations four top positions. Marino became the first African-American archbishop in the United States. (*Jet*, December 9)

1986

January *Labor of Love, Labor of Sorrow* won the Bancroft Prize for Jacquelyn Jones for the best work in Women's Black History. The prize was awarded by the Association of Black Women Historians.

Representative William H. Grey, III, said that the Reagan Administration had made "another U-turn on civil rights" by proposing an executive order that would "forbid the government from using hiring statistics to prove that a contractor had discriminated against Blacks, Hispanics, or women." (*Afro-American*, January 4)

Just a decade after a court-ordered school desegregation plan sparked ugly race riots, Boston chose Bruce Bolling as its first Black city council president.

The Children's Defense Fund's annual report on the status of programs affecting children and the disadvantaged disclosed that "the nation's progress since 1965 in improving key health indicators for poor and nonwhite mothers and babies has ground to a virtual halt." Marian Wright Edelman, CDF president, added that it is shameful that children in our major cities are more likely to die in the first year of life than a child born in Costa Rica. (*The State of Black America*, p. 207)

The Reverend Martin Luther King's birthday is observed as a federal holiday on January 15, the first time that such an honor has been bestowed upon an African-American.

The Department of Justice filed a civil suit charging Waukesha County, Wisconsin, with violating the Civil Rights Act of 1964. The suit stated that in 1982 the County Department of Social Services had only one Black employee out of 173. (*Afro-American*, January 18)

Thomas Williams, 26, became the first African-American mayor of Buena Vista, California. (*Jet*, January)

George Rhodes, the first African-American musical director for a major television network and music arranger for legendary entertainer Sammy Davis, Jr., died at age 66. (*Jet*, January)

The late Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., became the first African-American honored with a bust placed in the Great Rotunda of the Capitol building in Washington, D.C.

Flo Hyman, considered the best woman volleyball player in the world, died at age 31 during competition at Matsue, Japan, on January 25. She also played as a member of the U.S. National Volleyball team in 1974 and on two U.S. Olympic teams.

February

Grant Fuhr, professional hockey's only Black goalie, was voted the Most Valuable Player for the 38th National Hockey League All-Star game at Hartfield, Connecticut, February 13.

Statistically, only one percent of the faculty at predominantly white institutions are Black, according to Manning Marable, professor of political science and sociology at the University of Colorado, Boulder. (*Afro-American*, February 25)

United Airlines senior Black pilot, Captain William Norwood, is president of the Organization of Black Airline Pilots. Theresa Newsome became the first Black female commercial pilot when she signed on as second officer for American Airlines in 1984. There are 175 African-American pilots out of a total of 40,000. (*Ebony*, February, p. 75)

March

James T. Terry was appointed terminal superintendent for the Seaboard System Railroad for Hamlet North Dakota Yard, the first African-American to hold that position. (*Jet*, March 24, p. 20)

Pamala Bingham is the first Black female to be student body president at the University of Florida. (*Afro-American*, March 29)

May

"The American Journalist," a profile of American journalists, noted that Blacks, Asians, and Hispanics account for roughly four percent of all editorial employees. The typical journalist is white, male, and "politically in the middle of the road"; he knows little about minorities, and his judgments are colored by his own life experiences and interests. (*Afro-American*, May 3)

The U.S. Supreme Court made a landmark ruling that prosecutors cannot use the preemptory challenge to remove prospective jurors because they are Black, an action Justice Thurgood Marshall called an historic step toward eliminating the shameful practice of racial discrimination in the selection of juries. (*Afro-American*, May 5)

Professor Lowell Davis was selected dean of the University of South Florida's St. Petersburg campus, its first Black dean.

Paula V. Smith was the first Black woman to be sworn in as Wage and Hour Administrator in the U.S. Department of Labor.

June

After a 38-day Black boycott of white businesses, the school board of Indianola, Mississippi, was forced to hire a Black superintendent for a school system with a student body that is 93 percent Black. (*Afro-American*, June 7)

Thelma Gorham, journalism professor at Florida A & M University in Tallahassee, was presented with the first Black Commemorative Hall of Fame Award from its School of Journalism, Media and Graphic Arts. (*Jet*, June 23, p. 20)

Edith Irby Jones was the first African-American woman to become president of the National Medical Association in July 1985. This 91-year-old African-American professional organization has 15,000 physicians, of which 25 percent are women. (*Ebony*, June, p. 90)

August Black women are three times more likely to die during childbirth than are white women. Poverty, poor living conditions, and inadequate access to prenatal care are the main causes. (*Afro-American*, August 10)

There are 254 Blacks of the 4,014 members of the United States Foreign Service. Only nine out of 635 senior foreign service officers are Black while six out of 150 ambassadors are Black. (*Afro-American*, August 23)

September Agnes Lattimer is the only African-American woman to head one of the nation's largest hospitals, Chicago's Cook County Hospital. (*Ebony*, September, p. 44)

A study by the Children's Defense Fund showed that girls who are poor and do poorly in school are almost six times more likely to become teenage mothers than their more affluent, better-educated counterparts. The report, based on Labor Department figures, shows that teenage pregnancy rates are almost identical among whites, Blacks, and Hispanics of similar incomes.

In the broadcasting industry, women correspondents filed 15 percent of all on-air stories for all three major networks. For women of color, the figure was less than one percent. (*Afro-American*, September 26)

October Trudi Morrison is the first Black woman to become United States Senate Deputy Sergeant-at-Arms, overseeing a $100 million budget and 2,200 employees. She supervises the Senate computer center, the telecommunications network, the recording studio, and all human resources personnel. (*Ebony*, October, p. 117)

A group of Black foreign service officers announced the filing of a class-action suit in U.S. District Court charging systematic racial discrimination against the State Department. The suit alleges that Black officers were subjected to discriminatory evaluation, undesirable assignments, and lack of promotions. (*The State of Black America*, p. 214)

November James Spencer was sworn in as Virginia's first Black federal judge on November 10. (*Afro-American*, November 15)

December The public release of Nixon Administration documents reveals that in a 1969 memo, Patrick J. Buchanan, then White House director of communications, urged President Nixon not to visit the widow of Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., on the first anniversary of King's death. The memo claims "many people believe King was a fraud and a demagogue" and that the visit would pay "tribute to a figure who alienates and angers so many whites." The report said that Nixon sent a sympathy note to Coretta Scott King instead. (*The State of Black America*, p. 217)

The Justice Department, one of three federal agencies that refuse to supply hiring goals to the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, has not added any African-Americans or women in policy-making positions during the 21-month reign of Attorney General Edwin Meese. (*Afro-American*, December 6)

A 23-year-old Black man, Michael Griffin, was chased by a white mob onto a busy highway in Queens, New York, where he was killed by a passing car. Two companions, who entered the Howard Beach area in search of a tow for their car, were attacked by whites using baseball bats shouting "N——s, you don't belong here!" New York City Mayor Edward Koch compared the attack to a lynching. After a lengthy trial, a jury found two of the mob guilty of second-degree manslaughter. (*Afro-American*, January 2, 1988; *New York Times*, February 4, 1987)

1987

January On January 20 the city of Madison, Wisconsin, changed the name of Monona Avenue to Martin Luther King, Jr., Boulevard.

Claude Organ, Jr., was the first African-American to serve as chairman of the American Board of Surgery, 1985-87. He was the first Black doctor to head the Department of Surgery at Creighton University in Omaha, Nebraska, a predominantly white medical school, from 1971-82. He is co-author of *A Century of Black Surgeons: The USA Experience*. (*Ebony*, January 1982, p. 88)

February The California Bicentennial Commission was forced to stop selling a textbook that described Black children as "pickaninnies" as well as including other racist expressions. (*Afro-American*, February 14)

America's oldest independent Black church, the Mother Bethel African Methodist Episcopal Church, celebrated its 200th anniversary February 13.

Archaeological teams from Florida University unearthed what is believed to be the remains of the oldest settlement of free African-Americans in America. Fort Mose Settlement near St. Augustine was abandoned in 1763. (*New York Times*, February 26, p. 14)

K. K. Karanja, a 13-year-old eighth grader at Hunter College High School, is considered to be the number one chess player under 14 in the United States. (*Ebony*, February, p. 54)

March The oldest Black church in Brooklyn, New York, Bridge Street African Wesleyan Methodist Episcopal Church, celebrated its 221st anniversary. (*New York Times*, March 1, p. 34)

A study done by the Department of Housing and Urban Development found that African-Americans were discriminated against in housing searches half of the time in the nation's capitol and more often in the suburbs. (*Afro-American*, March 21)

Kamin Bell, an ensign with the U.S. Naval Reserve, recently became the first African-American female to earn the Navy's coveted Wings of Gold for helicopters, making her a helicopter naval aviator. (*Jet*, March 23)

April Janet Norfleet was appointed Chicago's first Black female postmaster on April 4.

None of the Justice Department's major divisions is headed by women or minorities; of 94 federal attorneys, only one is African-American, one is female, and two are Hispanic. (*Afro-American*, April 18)

Richard Knight, Jr., is the first African-American to hold the post of city manager in Dallas, Texas (*Ebony*, April, p. 29)

June Mae C. Jemison was named the first Black female astronaut on June 5.

The motion picture industry continues to stereotype African-Americans. "Filmmaking is probably the least progressive of all industries as far as Blacks are concerned," said Oprah Winfrey. (*Afro-American*, June 13)

The African Methodist Episcopal Church, with 3.5 million members and 8,000 churches in the United States, Africa, and the Caribbean, is celebrating its 200th anniversary. It founded the first Black institution of higher learning in the United States, Wilberforce University, in Ohio in 1856. (*Afro-American*, June 13)

June 19 was proclaimed America's Gospel Arts Day by an act of Congress.

July African-Americans own only one percent of the nation's 1,138 television stations and only one and one-half percent of the 9,000 radio stations. (*Afro-American*, July 11)

"Integrated newsrooms are still a myth," said a report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Rights. The American Society of Newspaper Editors reported that six out of ten newsrooms have no nonwhite reporters. There are 2,800 minority journalists out of 50,000. (*Jet*, May 30, 1983, p. 42)

Air Force General Bernard Randolph was promoted to four-star rank, the third African-American of that rank in U.S. history. He will head the Air Force System command, control the Command's $34 billion annual budget as well as manage 24,000 active contracts valued at $150 billion.

Lieutenant General Frank Peterson is the only Black Marine general. (*Afro-American*, July 11)

August A plan exists, allegedly signed by President Reagan under a national security decision directive, where up to 21 million African-Americans could be relocated to concentration camps should martial law be declared in the country. (*Afro-American*, August 1)

The *Afro-American* newspaper of Baltimore, Maryland, was 95 years old on August 15.

August 17 commemorates the 100th birthday of Jamaican-born Marcus Garvey, founder and president of the Universal Negro Improvement Association, established in 1914. It had one million members and in its time was the most powerful Black organization in the world.

September Supreme Court Justice Thurgood Marshall, in a highly unusual public criticism of a sitting president, said that Ronald Reagan ranks at "the bottom" of U.S. presidents in terms of the rights of African-Americans. White House spokesman Marlin Fitzwater rejected that criticism, saying that Reagan had an "outstanding civil rights record." (*New York Times*, September 9, p. 1 and September 10, p. 6)

"A secret government document obtained by the *Miami Herald* dated July 5, 1987, reveals some startling information about the role of Oliver North and key persons in the Reagan Administration in drawing up emergency contingency plans for a military takeover of the U.S. government, suspending the Constitution and opening concentration camps to contain dissidents and protestors." (*Afro-American*, September 12)

October Niara Sudarkasa is the first woman to head Lincoln College. She was inaugurated on October 10 on the campus at Oxford, Pennsylvania.

Rita Dove, 35, was the second African-American woman to win the Pulitzer Prize for poetry. (*Ebony*, October, p. 44)

November Harold Washington, first Black mayor of Chicago, died November 25. He was revered as "a kind of folk hero . . . one of the most outspoken urban critics of President Reagan." He worked to unite all political forces so Chicago could "remain a world-class city."

The first Black Press Hall of Fame induction was held at Morgan State College (Baltimore, Maryland), where Black pioneers in the field of journalism and publishing were honored. (*Afro-American*, November 7)

Still on the books is a Mississippi law of 1890 that states that a white cannot legally marry a person with "one-tenth or more of Negro blood." (*Afro-American*, November 14)

Civil rights groups say Virginia's state song "Carry Me Back To Old Virginia," is racist and derogatory. The song contains the words "darkeys" and "Massa." It does not sing of ease, freedom, and the joys of life but of labor, servitude, and one's welcomed release by death. It is a painful reminder of total segregation. (*Afro-American*, November 11)

December William Webster admitted that while he was FBI director, 40 percent of African-American officials were under investigation.

The United States Census Bureau reported that 33.1 million Americans were poor in 1985. Sixty-nine percent of these poor were white.

Of the 10.8 million Americans who lost their jobs due to plant dislocations and a slack economy between January 1981 and January 1986, nearly one-third were unemployed by the end of the period—and more than 30 percent were working at new jobs for 80 percent or less of their previous salaries. One-tenth held only part-time jobs. (*New York Times*, January 9)

James Baldwin, a prolific author who helped chronicle the Civil Rights Movement through his novels, short stories, and essays, died in France at age 63. Born in Harlem, Baldwin moved to France in the late 1940s to escape the bigotry of the United States. (*Negro Almanac*, 5th. ed., p. 979)

Loop City College in Chicago was named the Harold Washington College in memory of Harold Washington, the city's first African-American mayor. (*Jet*, December)

Willy T. Ribbs became the first African-American to win the Norelco Drivers Cup as the top racing driver in the International Motor Sports Association. (*Jet*, December)

1988

January The Confederate flag still flies over the Montgomery, Alabama, capitol in spite of NAACP protests that the flag is "racist and offensive to Blacks everywhere because it remains a symbol of oppression and slavery that existed under the Confederacy." Mississippi state representatives and the NAACP president will introduce legislation to change the design of the state flag so that it no longer contains the Confederate flag. Georgia and South Carolina flags also contain the Confederate symbol. (*Afro-American*, January 9)

Of the six Democratic Party candidates, Jesse Jackson had five African-Americans in top campaign staff jobs. There was only one Black staffer among the other five candidates. The Republican candidates had none, accoding to John Jacob, president of the National Urban League. (*Afro-American*, January 30)

February In its "LOCKED DOORS" articles, *The Capital Times* revealed Black and white reporters get different treatment as they search for Madison, Wisconsin, rental property. Whites were given more helpful information; their Black counterparts were often discouraged. The Dane County Fair Housing Council found that 61 percent of those surveyed treated Black applicants worse than whites. (*The Capital Times*, February 3)

A survey by Richard Clarke, a minority recruiter, in the *Wall Street Journal* reported that 43 percent of Black managers believe they have less opportunity now than five years ago to move up the corporate ladder. Blame is placed on the Reagan Administration's "retreat" from affirmative action. (*State of Black America*, p. 209)

Governor Casey of Pennsylvania nominated Common Pleas Judge Juanita Kidd Stout to the state supreme court, the first Black woman on that court. (*Afro-American*, February 23)

March Romace Beardon, 75, world famous abstract painter and collage artist, died March 12.

March 27 is National Black American Inventors' Day.

Gary Cooper, who two years ago became the first African-American officer to head the largest U.S. Marine Corps Reserve unit commanded by a reserve officer, was selected for promotion to major general. (*Jet*, March 7)

May On May 5 Eugene Antonio Marino became the nation's first Black Roman Catholic archbishop.

TLC Beatrice International Holding, Incorporated, a food manufacturer and distributor headed by Wall Street attorney Reginald F. Lewis, became the first African-American owned company to achieve more than $1 billion in annual sales. (*Jet*, May 30)

A statue of Jack Frice, the first African-American athlete at Iowa State University (formerly Ames College) was dedicated on May 7. (*Jet*, May 30)

July Matthew Henson, co-discoverer of the North Pole with Robert E. Perry, was reburied at Arlington National Cemetery 33 years after his death. He had reached the North Pole on April 6, 1909. (*Ebony*, July, p. 108)

August Robert Peterkin became the first African-American superintendent of the Milwaukee, Wisconsin, public school system as well as the first African-American school superintendent in the state.

The House Government Operations Committee reported that fewer than 200 of the country's airline pilots are Black, and that the airlines have done little to promote Blacks to other professional and managerial positions.

M. Carl Holman, president of the National Urban Coalition and a major figure in the fields of civil rights and urban affairs, died at age 69. (*New York Times*, August 11, p. 20)

The Thurgood Marshall Law Association, a Black lawyers' group in Toledo, Ohio, filed a federal civil rights suit seeking to end a new police department policy of routinely stopping and questioning Black teenagers in a racially mixed neighborhood. (*New York Times*, August 14, p. 31) On August 15 the police chief rescinded the policy.

September On September 9 parents of a Black teenager in Little Rock, Arkansas, filed a civil rights suit when their daughter was barred from playing tennis with her high school's all-white tennis club.

The National Council of Negro Women staged a Black Family Reunion Celebration on Washington Mall, drawing more than 60,000 people to exhibits offering health screenings, information about colleges, and various panel discussions. Similar events were held in Atlanta, Philadelphia, and Los Angeles as part of a drive within the African-American community to use its own resources to fight poverty, drug abuse, and unemployment.

October Liz Zimmerman-Keitt, highly regarded civil rights activist in Orangeburg, South Carolina, for the past 25 years, was recently elected and sworn in as a member of the city council. She became the first African-American female to hold that post in the city. (*Jet*, October 24)

December Max Robinson, the nation's first Black network television anchorman, died December 20. He was an accomplished painter and taught communication arts and television production at Federal City College. He also helped to found the Association of Black Journalists to encourage Blacks in journalism.

Representative William H. Gray was the first African-American to be elected chairman of the House Democratic Caucus.

The National Center for Health Statistics found that for the second consecutive year life expectancy for African-Americans dropped while increasing for whites. Blacks can expect to live 69.4 years, and white's life expectancy is 75.4 years.

Some national leaders, including Reverend Jesse Jackson, say it's time the term "Black" was replaced by "African-American." "Just as we were called colored, but were not that, and then Negro, but not that, to be called Black is just as baseless," Jackson said after a meeting of Black leaders.

"African-Americans have cultural integrity," he said. "It puts us in our proper historical context. Every ethnic group in this country has a reference to some land base, some historical cultural base. African-Americans have hit that level of cultural maturity." (*The Capital Times*, December 21)

1989

January

H. Claude Hudson, one of the founders of the NAACP, died December 28. A son of slaves, he first met with the legendary W.E.B. Du Bois on the Canadian side of Niagara Falls because no American hotel would rent a room to them. In 1905 this group initially called itself the Niagara Movement, and in 1909 it became the NAACP.

Elizabeth Duncan Koontz, the first Black president of the National Education Association, died in her Salisbury, North Carolina, home at age 69. President Nixon named her director of the Labor Department's Women's Bureau, where she stood up for equal pay for women. (*State of Black America*, January 5, p. 276)

All four Black members of the Boston School Committee oppose a plan to end 15 years of court-ordered busing. They contend the plan could send the weakest schools into a "tailspin" of declining enrollments, lower budgets, and a loss of motivated students and teachers. (*State of Black America*, Chronology, January 16, p. 277)

February

Lt. Commander Evelyn Fields became the first Black woman to command a U.S. Navy ship.

Ron Brown, in being elected by acclamation as the Democratic Party national chairman, became the first African-American to head a major political party. (*Los Angeles Times*, February 11)

March

A study by the National School Boards Association listed states with the most Black students attending predominantly minority schools in 1986. Illinois led in segregated schools with 83 percent; Wisconsin was in eighth place with 70 percent. (*The Capital Times*, March 24)

Racial segregation in ten of the nation's largest cities is more deeply entrenched and takes more forms than social scientists previously thought, says a study by the University of Chicago.

April

Speaking before the National Conference of Black Mayors, the Reverend Jesse Jackson called for an "American perestroika" and a "Marshall Plan" to revive urban communities across the United States. He charged that African-

American communities "are being redlined and starved" through policies that "prevent the majority" of people from having access to financial resources. He assailed the Bush Administration's plan to spend up to $300 billion to salvage the faltering savings and loan industry, stating, "They're asking us to use our tax money to bail out people who locked us out." (*People's Daily World*, April 20)

After a long series of racist incidents on the University of Wisconsin-Madison campus, including a ten-foot high Black caricature with protruding lips and a bone through its nose erected by a Madison fraternity, a "black-face" skit performed at a mock "slave-auction" by another fraternity, and a physical attack on a Black female student—each followed by large demonstrations condemning campus racism—University of Wisconsin Regent Erroll Davis said Blacks are going through "the same type of harassment I went through almost 20 years ago—the same ugly name-calling, the same verbal harassment, the same disgusting, insulting graffiti." (*Daily Cardinal*, May 6, 1987; *The Capital Times*, November 5 and November 18, 1988; *Wisconsin State Journal*, November 18 and November 22; *The Capital Times*, April 25).

One thousand African-American delegates met in New Orleans April 21-23 to set a new agenda for the survival of Black people throughout the world. They dealt with the family, housing, health care, equal wages for women, the need for financial capital, political empowerment, drugs, and criminal justice. (*Afro-American*, April 29)

African-Americans earned 820 Ph.D.s in 1986 out of 32,000, a 26 percent drop from a decade earlier. Only 14 engineering and 25 physical science doctorates went to Blacks out of 8,000, less than one-half percent. (*Wisconsin State Journal*, April 30)

May The month of May marks the 131st anniversary of St. Augustine Church, the first African-American parish of the Roman Catholic Church in Washington, D.C. It established the first school for African-American children in 1858.

Black public school students remain "largely isolated"' and receive an inferior education, despite federal and local efforts to provide equal opportunities in the 35 years since the United States ordered the end of segregated schools. That's the finding of a panel of 29 prominent Black scholars commissioned by the Joint Center for Political Studies to assess the state of education for Blacks. (*State of Black America*, May 23, p. 282)

The Lompoc, California, Elks Lodge 2274 still rejects Black applicants. (*Wisconsin State Journal*, May 7)

In major league baseball, African-Americans hold only 17 positions— 1.9 percent—out of 879 executive jobs beneath the general manager or owner level. Six teams have no Black employees, and only one team out of 26 has a Black executive in a policy-making position, though Black players comprise more than one-fourth of all players. (*Afro-American*, May 9)

Johnette Cole is the first Black female president of Spelman College in Atlanta, Georgia. Of 3,000 U.S. institutions of higher education, 300 are headed by women, only 22 of them Black. (*AARP News Bulletin*, May)

June A prominent Black Roman Catholic priest, Father George Stallings, Jr., said he and several hundred Black Catholics will launch an independent African-American Catholic congregation. He said the established church "failed to meet the spiritual and cultural needs of African-American Catholics." (*State of Black America*, June 20, p. 294)

July Since the Supreme Court reinstated the death penalty, anyone who kills a white person is about ten times more likely to be executed than someone who kills a Black person. A Black who kills a white is five times more likely to be executed than a white who kills a white, and a Black who kills a white is about 60 times more likely to be executed than a Black who kills a Black. Between 1977 and 1986, 2,550 white-on-Black homicides occurred; during that period, not a single state put to death a white who had killed a Black person. (*Afro-American*, November 11)

The July 3 Supreme Court decision to limit a woman's right to abortion was called a "war against women, the Black, and the poor" by Molly Yard, head of the National Organization for Women. (*Afro-American*, July 8, p. 1)

The New York State courts are staffed so overwhelmingly by whites that minorities have lost confidence in the justice system, notes a finding of the New York State Judicial Commission on Minorities.

Bertram Lee, chairman of BML Associates, and Peter Bynoe, president of Telemat, Limited, partnered to buy the Denver Nuggets, the first African-Americans to own a major professional sports team. (*Afro-American*, July 15, p. 6)

August Gwendolyn S. King became the first African-American to be named commissioner of the Social Security Administration.

Black Panther leader Huey Newton was shot to death on August 22 in an Oakland, California, neighborhood where he began his organizing. With co-founder Bobby Seale, the Black Panther Party fought for full employment, decent housing, an end to police brutality and violations of civil rights, educational reforms, and "freedom for all Black men held in federal, state, county, and city prisons and jails." They offered free breakfast programs and medical services for ghetto residents. They united with white peace activists who opposed the war in Vietnam and called for the development of a progressive united front between all oppressed people of color and reform-minded whites to transform the nation's economic and political system. As early as 1970, the FBI ordered its field offices to "counteract any favorable support in publicity to the Panthers" by placing anti-Panther propaganda in the media—Manning Marable, Professor of Political Science, University of Colorado (*Afro-American* September 19, p. 5)

Representative Ron Dellems speaking at Newton's funeral before Christians, Muslims, Jews, and those who represent the religions of Asia, for what he called the Black Revolution, the Black Cause, stated that "in 1966, no one could ever unite for any reason. But there is a common bond between people who are headed in the same direction." Dellems added, "We ought to go to Washington by the hundreds of thousands, not for a day, but for the long haul and say 'Negotiate with me to end poverty, drug addiction, pain, human misery, death, and destruction.' "

Representative Mickey Leland died in a plane crash in southwestern Ethiopia. He was hailed as "a one-man army who tried to end world hunger." A proposed museum in Washington will be named the George T. "Mickey" Leland African-American Heritage Museum.

September The NAACP conducted its Second Silent March in Washington on August 26 to protest the four recent U.S. Supreme Court decisions on civil rights and affirmative action. "No retreat on civil rights" was the theme of 100,000 marchers. (*Afro-American*, September 2)

The Congressional Black Caucus Foundation conducted its 19th annual legislative weekend in Washington, D.C., September 13-17, with the theme of "A Global Crisis, Our Children at Risk." Discussions dealt with unemployment, housing, illiteracy, drugs, and education. The weekend included a National Youth Summit. (*Afro-American*, September 16, p. 1)

October "In the eyes of the American news media, this is what Black America is: poor, criminal, addicted, and dysfunctional. Indeed, media coverage of Black America is so one-sided, so imbalanced that the most victimized and hurting segment of the Black community—a small segment at best—is presented not as the exception, but as the norm. It is an insidious practice, all the uglier for its blatancy," wrote Patricia Raybon. (*Newsweek*, October 2)

White students are more likely than Black students to use all kinds of drugs—from liquor to cocaine and hallucinogens—according to a nationwide survey of drug use among sixth-to twelfth-grade students. "For all too long, this problem has been portrayed as a Black problem, and I think the end result has been that there are some people who have not really cared a lot about it because of that," said Judge Reggie Walton, associate director of the Office of National Drug Control Policy. (*The Capital Times*, December 19, p. 3)

November Early in November a new memorial was unveiled in Montgomery, Alabama, that honored 40 people, representing all those killed by racist violence from 1954 to 1968. Many thousands attended the opening.

George Branham III became the first Black champion in the history of the Professional Bowling Association by winning the $200,000 Brunswick Memorial Open.

Katherine Dunham, world-renowned dancer, producer, author, and choreographer, was awarded the National Medal of Arts. An expert in primitive dance, she directed the Performing Arts Training Center at Southern Illinois University and the Katherine Dunham School of Cultural Arts in New York City.

In Congressional testimony Jackie Parker, chairwoman of the U.S. Senate Black Legislative Staff Caucus, said African-Americans "account for only 64, or 2.4 percent of about 2,700 senior policy employees in the Senate." (*People's Daily World*, November 30)

December Of the ten top videos rented nationally during Thanksgiving Week, none featured African-American artists. (*People's Daily World*, December 7)

Superior Court Judge Theodore Davis chaired a New Jersey supreme court task force that produced a 296-page study on discrimination in the court systems. The study contained some startling findings. Procedures for setting bail make it more likely that poor African-Americans and Latinos accused of crime will be jailed because they are unable to make bail. Minority youths are more likely to be sent to state prisons than are whites for the same crimes. There are no minorities on the state's highest court. There are no minority assignment or equity judges. Only two of the 58 presiding judges are minorities. Only one Appellate Division judge is minority. Only eight percent of officials and administrators on the state's payroll are minorities. Bailiffs routinely assume that African-American lawyers are criminal defendants because of their color. (*People's Daily World*, December 19)

The Second Biennial Black Women's Political Action Forum held in Washington was a unique and historic occasion to "collectively deal with, take initiative, and give leadership to plan and prepare for our own destiny." (*Afro-American*, December 2)

Alvin Ailey, leading modern dance choreographer, died December 1 at age 58. Emerging from a life of extreme poverty and segregation, he rose in the dance world to create 79 ballets. He founded the Alvin Ailey American Dance Center and the Alvin Ailey Repertory Ensemble, performing before an estimated 15 million people in 45 countries. (*Crisis*, February 1990, p. 6)

1990

Many religious and other organizations founded by African-Americans for Black membership show remarkable staying power. The Conference of Prince Hall Grand Masters (Masonic Order), the African Methodist Episcopal Church, and the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church all are more than 200 years old. The National Baptist Convention, USA, and the National Baptist Convention of America, are more than 100 years old.

The Afro-American Newspapers, the National Medical Association, the National Association of Colored Women's Clubs, the Improved Benevolent Protective Order of Elks of the World, and the National Business League all are more than 90 years old.

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the National Urban League, the Delta Sigma Theta Sorority, the Association for the Study of Afro-American Life and History, the National Alliance of Postal and Federal Employees, and the National Dental Association all are more than 70 years old.

The National Insurance Association, the National Association of University Women, the National Bar Association, the National Technical Association, the National Bankers Association, and the National Pan-Hellenic Council all are more than 60 years old.

January Louis Sullivan, secretary of the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services blasted a "slick and sinister" cigarette ad campaign that targets Blacks, saying tobacco companies were putting profits above the health of the poor and minorities. He called it a "culture of cancer." (*The Capital Times*, January 19, p. 4)

"Virtually without exception, American wars since the end of World War II have been against non-Caucasian societies. This is not because they have not had a major dispute with Caucasian societies, but it is almost a given now that if you act against American interests, so defined, and you are a Caucasian society, you can expect economic sanctions at worst. On the other hand, if you are a non-Caucasian society, you can expect a military invasion," writes Nikango Ba Nikong, professor of political economy in the Department of Afro-American Studies at Howard University.

"African and Afro-diasporan nation-states, therefore, have much to fear in the way of punitive military retribution often when they are acting in their own interest. Should this be of any concern to the Afro-American soldier? . . . The time may well come when the Afro-American soldier would have to object to killing his brothers and sisters on the grounds of conscience and as a rejection of Black on Black crime." (*Afro-American*, January 20)

Representative Peter Kostmayer introduced a bill that adds a section to the National Trails System Act so that a study and appropriate designation might be made of the Underground Railroad trail. (*People's Daily World*, February 21)

David Norman Dinkins was inaugurated January 1 as New York's mayor, the first African-American to hold that post in New York City.

New York Times real estate ads featuring virtually all white models are being challenged in a civil rights lawsuit charging that such ads communicate the same illegal racist message as the words "white only." (*People's Daily World*, January 9)

Marian Wright Edelman, president of the Children's Defense Fund, stated, "As the wealthiest nation on earth and the standard-bearer of democracy, we have an 'A' capacity to care for children, but an 'F' performance on many key indicators of child well-being." Concerning Black children, she notes that the U.S. ranks 30th in infant mortality and 49th in childhood immunization against polio. As a nation, we are 19th in teacher-student ratios in public elementary and secondary schools. (*People's Daily World*, January 10)

National Urban League President John Jacob called for a 50 percent cut in military spending, saying the $150 billion "peace dividend should be used to educate and employ all our people and to eliminate racism from our national life." (*People's Daily World*, January 10)

"Jesse Jackson has pointed out that this 'Noreiga-Mania' (the invasion of Panama) cost more than the entire yearly budget of Mr. Bush's so-called 'drug war'." (*New York Times*, January 11)

The merrymaking and glee of scores of Panamanians celebrating the overthrow of deposed dictator General Manuel Noreiga was in sharp contrast to the thousands of the country's Black citizens who were maimed and killed in the U.S. invasion, says Walada Steward, chairman of the Panamanian Political Organization. "If you really feel that the dancing in the street was the feeling of the people, let the international press into the Black community. There was no freedom of the press in Panama . . . . No white areas were bombed. Some legitimately Black elected legislators have been arrested." (*Afro-American*, January 13)

Douglas Wilder, who in the days of segregation could not get a state job as anything but a cook despite his college degree, was elected the 66th governor of Virginia and the first African-American governor in U.S. history. He was inaugurated on January 13.

"In the wreckage of the destruction of the U.S. Civil Rights Commission, the absence of enforcement for affirmative action and equal opportunity legislation, and the policy of ignoring the mounting tragedies of Black unemployment, homelessness, and growing poverty, most white American politicians hide behind the soothing image of (Martin Luther) King as an advocate of racial peace. They fear the disturbing implications of King's economic and social demands for restructuring America's social order in the final years of his life, and pretend that this final, radical phase of his political career never existed," writes Manning Marable. (*Afro-American*, January 13)

Supreme Court Justice Thurgood Marshall, whose arguments before the U.S. Supreme Court in 1954 led to the ending of legal segregation, is considered this century's most important Black man as well as the most important lawyer. (*The Capital Times*, January 13, p. 8; *Ebony*, May, p. 68)

Tommy Thompson, governor of the state of Wisconsin, proclaimed January 15 as Martin Luther King, Jr., Day, a legal state holiday.

Donald Grady II is Wisconsin's first Black police chief, elected in the town of Bloomer. (*The Capital Times*, January 22, p. 21)

Pioneering scientists George Washington Carver and Percy F. Julian are the first two African-Americans named to the National Inventors Hall of Fame. Carver, 1923 winner of the NAACP Spingarn Medal, was born a slave. He found hundreds of practical uses for the peanut and soybean. Julian, winner of the Spingarn Medal in 1947, synthesized drugs used in the treatment of arthritis and glaucoma. He held more than 130 chemical patents and received honorary degrees from 12 colleges and universities. (*The Capital Times*, January 25)

The U.S. Post Office in recognition of African-American heritage, issued a Black Heritage collection of postage stamps. The 12 African-Americans in the series are:

- Benjamin I. Banneker, mathematician, astronomer and surveyor
- Jean Baptiste Pointe Du Sable, founder of the city of Chicago
- Harriet Tubman, abolitionist, "Moses of her people"
- Sojourner Truth, abolitionist
- Scott Joplin, musician, "King of Ragtime"
- Carter G. Woodson, historian, "Father of Black History"
- Mary McLeod Bethune, educator and social activist
- A. Philip Randolph, trade unionist, organizer of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters
- James Weldon Johnson, author of "Lift Every Voice and Sing"
- Jack "Jackie" Roosevelt Robinson, first African-American to break the major league baseball color barrier
- Whitney Moore Young, civil rights leader
- Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., "He had a Dream"

February The District of Columbia, with more than 700,000 citizens, 80 percent of whom are Black, pay more than $1 billion in taxes each year but still do not have voting rights. They have no U.S. senator and only one nonvoting representative. Nonvoting Congressman Walter Fauntroy said he will launch a tax protest February 9, "with those willing to place this year's federal tax payment" in a secure escrow account.

The U.S. Postal Service unveiled the design of a commemorative stamp honoring civil rights activist Ida B. Wells. It is the thirteenth in the Black Heritage series and was issued February 1. Ida Wells-Barnett, 1864-1931, was one of the few women in the South who engaged in a vigorous campaign against lynching. She was editor of *Free Speech* in Memphis, Tennessee. She compiled her first pamphlet against lynching, *The Red Record*, in 1895. She chaired the Anti-Lynching Bureau of the National African Council and later organized and became the first president of the Negro Fellowship League in 1908. She was elected vice-president of the Chicago Equal Rights League, and authored the book *On Lynching*. (*Afro-American*, February 3, p. 1; *The Negro Almanac*)

African-Americans own a total of 47 banks with assets of $1.5 billion. This is 0.31 percent of the banks and 0.09 percent of the total assets in the country.

Detroit Mayor Coleman Young proclaimed February 14 as Nelson Mandela Day. Young issued a call for the people of Detroit to march in celebration of Mandela's release from a South African prison after 27 years. Mandela is a major leader of the African National Congress of South Africa.

The nation took time out to pay tribute to Rosa Parks on her 77th birthday. Parks refused to give up her seat on a Montgomery, Alabama, bus on December 1, 1955, which led to the year-long bus boycott that opened up a new era in the civil rights movement. (*Afro-American*, February 17, p. B1)

Elaine Wedington was promoted to the position of assistant general manager of the Boston Red Sox. She became the first woman and the second African-American to hold that position in major league baseball. (*People's Daily World*, February 22, p. 23)

November Gary Frank became the first African-American Republican member of the United States Congress since 1953 when he was elected in Connecticut.

Former State Senator William Jefferson of Louisiana became the first African-American congressman from that state since Reconstruction. The 43-year-old Jefferson is a founding partner in a successful law firm that specializes in public finance. (*Ebony*, January 1991)

Sharon Pratt-Dixon was elected mayor of Washington, D.C., becoming the first woman to win the post. She also was the first woman vice-president of Potomac Electric Power Company, the District of Columbia's power utility company.

Civil Rights and the Supreme Court

"Throughout the 1970s and the early 1980s courts believed that when Congress enacted the civil rights laws of the 1960s and early 1970s, Congress intended that those laws be given a broad interpretation and that they be used to erase historic, long-standing inequalities.

"President Ronald Reagan, with the appointment of Anthony Kennedy to the Supreme Court in 1988, was able to achieve a conservative majority which would interpret civil rights in a narrow, restricted and limited manner.

"Perhaps the case that attracted the most attention nationally among judges and lawyers was *Patterson* v. *McLean Credit Union* (1989). The Supreme Court, on its own, invited reargument concerning the proper interpretation of the Civil Rights Act of 1866. Earlier decisions interpreted the law to prohibit all forms of race discrimination in private contractual and employment decisions. Although a majority of the members of the United States Senate and almost all the sitting attorneys general of the 50 states signed a brief upholding the existing interpretation, the Supreme Court substantially narrowed the application of the law, stating that while the act did prohibit discrimination in the making of contracts, including the initial offer of employment, it did not prohibit discrimination in the terms and conditions of contracts. The specific effect was to eliminate the plantiff's claims arising out of racial harassment on the job, and probably discriminatory discharges as well. Though such discrimination claims can be taken to court under the new law, the Civil Rights Act of 1964, it provides neither jury trials nor damage remedies beyond lost wages.

"Despite the weaknesses of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 prior to the summer of 1989, it was most useful in protecting African-Americans and women who, as a group, had been demonstrated statistically to have suffered adversely in the labor market. Plaintiffs in a court case—except in cases where employers could prove business necessity—did not have to prove that discrimination was intentional, only that it existed. In *Wards Cove Packing Co., Inc.* v. *Atonio* (1989), the Court shifted the burden of proof from the employer to the plaintiff; and, perhaps more importantly, the Court declared that plaintiff must not only prove statistically significant discrimination, but must also show that the challenged practice is of no utility whatsoever to the employer.

"Many states and cities had taken steps to erase a history of slavery and discrimination. Richmond, Virginia, enacted an affirmative action program requiring a certain percentage of construction contracts to go to minority-owned businesses. In the *City of Richmond* v. *J.A. Croson Co.* (1989), the Court struck down the city's affirmative action plan, saying that it was, itself, discriminatory against majority contractors in violation of the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment, thus making it much more difficult for cities and states to assist and nurture the development of minority-owned businesses." Attorney Jeff Scott Olson. Julian, Olson and Lasker, S.C., February 1990.

February "The Civil Rights Act of 1990 (S. 2104 and H.R. 4000), introduced on February 7, addresses those Supreme Court decisions that seriously undermine the nation's two major employment rights statutes. Because of these decisions, large numbers of civil rights claims have been dismissed without a hearing, and many of the legal gains of the last decades have been or are in great jeopardy of being rolled back . . . . Some forms of racial discrimination once generally regarded as illegal have been declared lawful.

"More than 25 years after enactment of the historic Civil Rights Act of 1964, invidious discrimination continues to keep well-qualified minorities and women from fully participating in the work force." Benjamin Hooks, executive director of the NAACP, is chairman, and Ralph G. Neas is the executive director of the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights. (*Afro-American*, February 20, p. 4)

The Executive Council of the 1.6 million-member United Church of Christ called upon all national bodies to "declare by social action a renewed determination to eliminate racism within church and society" and to press Congress to take action to remedy the "harmful effects" of the Supreme Court decisions that "eroded a portion of the foundation of civil rights progress made in prior years."

The New Racism, Violence, and the Ku Klux Klan

The economic recession that began in the 1980s not only put an additional strain on African-Americans, but job competition with white workers set the stage for further conflict. Affirmative action programs designed to remove long-standing inequities were being attacked as "reverse racism"—a manufactured excuse designed to justify racist exclusion of Black workers from the job market.

President Ronald Reagan's attacks on affirmative action programs and on civil rights in general, along with major cuts in social programs, were like open doors to organizations known historically for their acts of violence, especially directed toward people of color.

A dramatic increase in violent acts by the Ku Klux Klan and Klan-type organizations and individuals—shootings, burnings, bombings, beatings, and threats—took place along with racist verbal assaults and insults supposedly justified under cover of "free speech" rights."

African-Americans in general but especially the poor, the jobless, and the homeless—all victims of larger institutionalized forces—have been blamed for conditions beyond their immediate control. Thus stigmatized, they are unable to defend themselves against these attacks and are caught in an unfair legal system and an inferior educational system that further limits their options for full equality and equal protection under the law and the Constitution.

1980

April Four Black women were shot from a passing auto. Suspects have been identified as members of the Ku Klux Klan of Chattanooga, Tennessee. (*Afro-American,* April 12)

1981

January Texas Klan leader Louis Beam opened a guerrilla warfare training camp for white supremacists in the Dallas area. (*The Klanwatch Project,* Report #47, December 1989)

1983

June Federal District Judge Richard A. Enslen ruled that the federal government was liable for failing to prevent the 1961 attack on civil rights workers in Birmingham, Alabama, which the FBI knew was going to take place. The FBI knew that the Birmingham police leadership was sympathetic to the Ku Klux Klan and other segregationists, who planned and carried out beatings. (*New York Times,* June 1, p. 14)

July Howell Raines, in an article on the bombing of Birmingham, Alabama, church that killed four girls, recalls that it was not until 1977 that Robert E.

Chambliss of the KKK was convicted of first-degree murder. Raines states that bungling on the part of FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover was responsible for hamstringing local, state, and federal investigators who were close to solving murders shortly after they occurred. (*New York Times*, July 24, p. 12)

1984

February Federal District Judge Richard A. Enslen ordered the FBI to pay $35,000 to 84-year-old Water Bergman, wheelchair-bound civil rights activist, for injuries he received in a Ku Klux Klan beating nearly 23 years ago on a Freedom Ride through Alabama. The suit charges that the FBI knew about but failed to prevent the beating aboard a bus outside Anniston, Alabama. (*New York Times*, February 8, p. 20)

August Five Georgia Ku Klux Klansmen were arrested on federal charges of breaking into a home at night to attack an interracial couple.

The indictment of five men in Georgia brings to 29 the number of KKK members indicted since October 1982 in Justice Department crackdowns on Klan-related violence in the South. (*New York Times*, August 11, p. 5)

November A cross was burned outside the home of the only Black family in a mobile home park in Vineland, New Jersey. (*New York Times*, November 2, p. 2)

A federal jury in Atlanta, Georgia, convicted three Ku Klux Klan members of civil rights violations in what the prosecution called racially motivated beatings in western Georgia in 1982 and 1983. (*New York Times*, November 10, p. 6)

Four white men were indicted by a federal grand jury on charges of setting a fire that destroyed the home of a Black family that moved into a white neighborhood in Knoxville, Tennessee. (*Afro-American*, November 17, p. 6)

1985

January North Carolina Ku Klux Klan leader Glenn Miller agreed not to hold demonstrations in Black neighborhoods, operate paramilitary camps, or harass Blacks or whites who associate with Blacks. (*New York Times*, January 13, p. 14)

1987

January Five members of the Ku Klux Klan were indicted for conspiring to steal weapons and explosives from the U.S. military in an elaborate plot that was to include the murder of Morris Dees, executive director of the Southern Poverty Law Center in Montgomery, Alabama. (*Afro-American*, January 17)

February The *Klanwatch Project* reported 45 cases of cross-burnings and arson as well as hundreds of acts of vandalism in the past two years against Black families seeking housing in previously all-white neighborhoods. (*New York Times*, February 15)

1988

February A report titled "They Don't All Wear Sheets," prepared by the Center for Democratic Renewal (published by the Division of Church and Society of the National Council of Churches), noted that between 1980 and 1986, 2,919 cross burnings, arsons, firebombings, shootings, and acts of vandalism and harassment occurred. (*Afro-American*, February 18)

March The National Alliance, a white supremacist group that contends that Black people are intellectually inferior, forced the American Telephone and Telegraph Company (ATT) into asking shareholders to vote on ending the company's minority hiring program. (*State of Black America*, p. 209)

Beulah MacDonald was awarded $7 million in her lawsuit against the Ku Klux Klan, who after searching out a Black victim, killed her 19-year-old son, Michael, on March 21, 1981. (*Ebony*, p. 148)

October A federal jury found the Invisible Empire Knights of the Ku Klux Klan and the Southern White Knights, two white supremacist groups, and 11 individuals responsible for the violent disruption of the 1987 civil rights march in Forsyth County, Georgia. It awarded $1 million in damages to 30 demonstrators. (*New York Times*, October 26, p. 20)

December In the past 15 months more than 20 Black people have been killed in hate crimes. In addition, scores of bombings, arsons, shootings, assaults, and cross burnings have occurred. (*The Klanwatch Project, A Decade Review 1980-1990; The State of Black America*, p. 316)

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